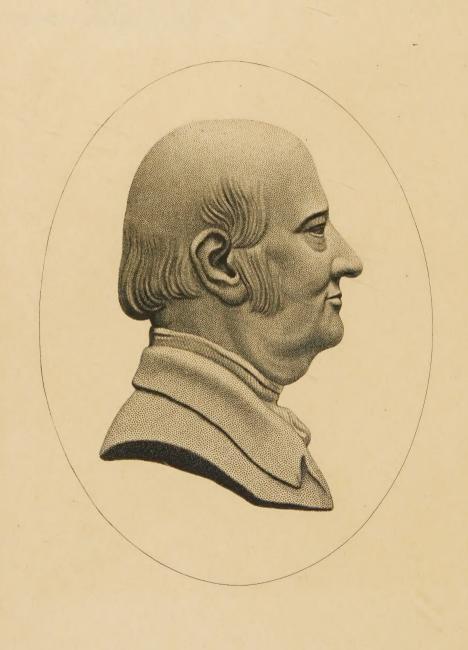


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THE HISTORY OF METHODISM

BY

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BRITISH METHODISM



VOLUME THE THIRD

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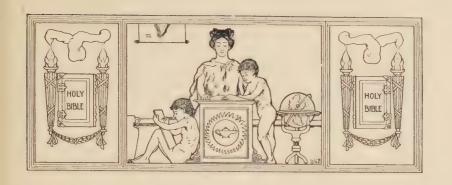
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CHAPTER CX

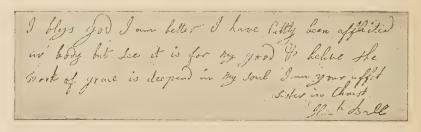
The Rise of the Sunday School

"I REVERENCE THE YOUNG,"—THE PATRIARCH AND THE CHILDREN.—
SOME OBSCURE PIONEERS.— HANNAH BALL AND JAMES HEY.—
WESLEY AND ROBERT RAIKES.—HEROES IN HARD TIMES.—THE
FIRST UNPAID TEACHERS.—THE CHILDREN'S SONG-WORSHIP.

T Wesley's last Conference some of his preachers asked him what he would recommend for perpetuating that revival of religion which he had commenced. "Take care," he replied, "of the rising generation." "I reverence the young," he once said, "because they may be useful after I am dead." Many entries in his Journal reveal his love for children and their love for him. We get a touching picture of the apostle of fourscore years as he descended from the pulpit at Stockton-on-Tees in 1784. "I was inclosed by a body of children; one of whom, and another, sunk down upon their knees, until they were all kneeling. So I kneeled down myself and began praying for them. Abundance of people ran back into the house. The fire kindled and ran from heart to heart, till few, if any, were unaffected. Is not this a new thing in the earth? God begins his work in children. Thus it has been also in Cornwall, Manchester, and Epworth. Thus the flame spreads to 63

those of riper years; till at length they all know him and praise him, from the least unto the greatest."

The rapid growth of the Sunday school system during the last twenty years of his life filled Wesley's heart with new hope for the salvation of the world. There had been Sunday schools, here and there, for over a century. Joseph Alleine, the friend and fellow-sufferer of Wesley's Nonconforming grandfather, had conducted one at Bath until he was stopped by the bishop. In the early part of the eighteenth century Mrs. Boevey, the "perverse widow" alluded to in the Spectator, gathered the children of the Forest of Dean together



FRAGMENT OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY HANNAH BALL.

and taught them in her own hall. Wesley himself had formed Sunday schools in Georgia, and had taught in the one at Savannah as early as 1736. But the spread of the Revival created a new interest in child-life, and before the Sunday school became a recognized institution of the Churches of England earnest Methodists were at work in several places.

In 1769, eleven years before the famous Robert Raikes formed his school at Gloucester, Hannah Ball commenced one at High Wycombe, and sent an account of it to Wesley. "The children meet twice a week, on Sunday and Monday. They are a wild little company, but seem willing to be instructed. I labor among them earnestly, desiring to promote the interest of the Church of Christ." She was a saintly

Methodist. A fragment of one of her letters, to an unknown correspondent, and one of Wesley's letters to her on the cultivation of her own spiritual life are here reproduced.

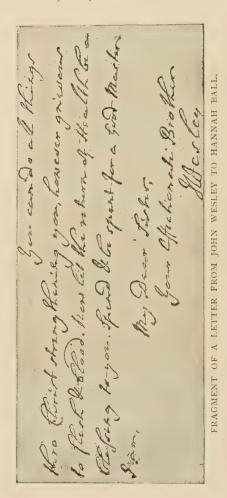
Another pioneer was James Hey, locally known as "Old Jammy o' th' Hey," a bobbin winder of Little Lever, near Bolton. In 1775 we find him beating a brass pestle and mortar, in lieu of a bell, to call together a number of poor "draw-boys," for teaching, twice on a Sunday. A well-to-do manufacturer, attracted by the strange bell, looked in upon old Jammy, who knew not whether he had acted "reet or wrang" in starting such work. But the wealthy Mr. Crompton sent the old teacher books, and a "bannock," or oatmeal loaf, once a week, and later provided forms and more teachers at a shilling a day. Three branch schools soon shot forth from this parent stock.

The city of Gloucester, in Wesley's day, was the chief pinmaking place in England, and hundreds of women and children were employed in the industry. Dibdin's old ballad says that the ladies

In former times had only thorns
And skewers to stick their clothes on.
No damsel then was worth a pin,
Whate'er it might have cost her,
Till gentle Johnny Tilsby
Invented pins in Gloucester.

The pin makers lived in poor and crooked streets, where on Sundays a throng of unkempt, untaught children played with much noise and riot. A young Methodist lady, Sophia Cooke, was one of several friends (and is said in her memoir, in the Methodist Magazine of 1834, to have been the first) to suggest to Robert Raikes, the editor of the Gloucester Journal, that the children should be taught to read and be taken to church. She marched with Robert

Raikes at the head of his troop of ragged urchins on the first Sunday they were taken to church. The crowd in the streets



was vastly amused with the unpromising appearance of the children, but the philanthropist and his Methodist helper were undaunted. Miss Cooke afterward married the Rev. Samuel Bradburn, and lived to see her eloquent husband president of the Conference.

To Robert Raikes belongs the imperishable honor of raising the Sunday school system into a national institution. Carlyle says, "A preaching friar . . . builds a pulpit, which he calls a newspaper." From such a pulpit Raikes preached the national need of Sunday schools, and roused many to systematic work. The new movement was fiercely attacked from the pulpits of another order, for the powerful Bishop Horsley de-

nounced the schools, and the Archbishop of Canterbury called his clergy together in much alarm at this teaching by laymen. In Scotland the civil and ecclesiastical opposition to the movement became very strong, and in 1790

the sheriff of Paisley pronounced the work illegal, and summoned the teachers to take the oath of allegiance before the magistrates. On the other hand, Dr. Paley—of evidential fame—tried to disabuse the clergy of their prejudice, and

some of the evangelicals who had felt the fire of the Great Revival became ardent supporters of the work.

Raikes published an account of his plan in his paper in 1784, and sent a copy of it with a letter to Wesley, who inserted the entire article in the Arminian Magazine for January, 1785, exhorting his people to adopt the scheme. Before this, Wesley had written in his



ROBERT RAIKES.

From the portrait in the European Magazine, 1788.

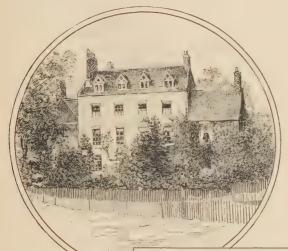
Journal, after preaching at Bingley in July, 1784: "I stepped into the Sunday school, which contains two hundred and forty children, taught every Sunday by several masters, and superintended by the curate. So, many children in one parish are restrained from open sin, and taught a little good manners at least, as well as to read the Bible. I find these schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who

knows but some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?"

But a serious danger threatened the new movement. The first teachers in Raikes's school were paid. At the close of the century hard times set in, funds declined, and, even in Gloucester, in a few years the schools died out. The high distinction of commencing the gratuitous system belongs to the Methodist operatives of Oldham. "Lads," said their class leader, Mr. Scholes, "let us do it ourselves; we must all come and try what we can do; and if you'll do so, we can have a Sunday school." The bright idea spread throughout Methodism, and the year before his death, after Wesley had preached at Newcastle to six or seven hundred children, he wrote: "None of our masters or mistresses teach for pay; they seek a reward that man cannot give." As the result of the Oldham operative's suggestion, as Sir Charles Reed has pointed out, "Sunday schools became a voluntary institution." After visiting one of these schools at Bolton Wesley said, "I verily think these Sunday schools are one of the noblest specimens of charity which have been set on foot since the time of William the Conqueror."

Richard Rodda, one of the preachers, records that in 1786 he formed a Sunday school in Chester and soon had nearly seven hundred children "under regular masters." Wesley wrote to him in the beginning of 1787: "I am glad you have taken in hand the blessed work of setting up Sunday schools in Chester. It seems these will be one great means of reviving religion throughout the nation. I wonder Satan has not yet sent out some able champion against them." In 1788 Wesley preached at Wigan "a sermon for the Sunday schools," and "the people flocked from all quarters in a manner that never was seen before." The year before his

death he wrote to Charles Atmore, an itinerant preacher: "I



am glad you have set up Sunday schools at Newcastle. This is one of the best institutions which has been seen in Europe for some centuries."

Fletcher, of Madeley, "lately hearing of Sunday

schools, thought much upon them, and then set about the work." He soon had three hundred children under instruction, and diligently trained them till his last illness. He drew up proposals for six such schools in Coalbrook Dale, Madeley, and



BIRTHPLACE OF ROBERT RAIKES.

HOUSE OF ROBERT RAIKES, GLOUCESTER.

Madeley Wood, and wrote an essay on "the advantages

likely to arise from Sunday schools." Rowland Hill introduced them into London in 1786, and in the same year Francis Asbury commenced the first Methodist Sunday school in the New World.

If the Sunday schools had not adopted the gratuitous principle, they could not have lived through the years of distress which followed. England was soon at war with France and Holland; Ireland was in rebellion, and popular discontent was at its height. The carriage of King George III was pelted by a mob, as he went to open Parliament, amid cries of "Give us bread!" "No war! No famine!" Wheat rose to one hundred and five shillings and ten pence a quarter. A quartern loaf cost one shilling and ten pence. Industrial disturbances were rife, and "scarcity riots" were common in every large town. The poverty of the poor was the wealth of the landowners, who kept on raising rents, and Parliament was persuaded to prohibit the importation of corn except at famine prices. In the early reports of the Methodist schools there are touching references to the poverty of the parents, "many of whom have hardly the necessaries of life."

Before Robert Raikes died the schools he established in Gloucester became entirely extinct. In 1810 six Methodist young men gathered round a post within twenty yards of the spot where Hooper was martyred, and, joining hands, vowed to reestablish Sunday schools in the city. They raised fifteen shillings among themselves, and with that set to work and founded the first school with unpaid teachers in Gloucester. Similar schools were early established by the Methodist societies in Ireland, and the Dublin Conference of 1794 advised their formation "as far as possible in all the towns in this kingdom where we have societies." It was not until 1808 that the schools engaged the formal attention of the English

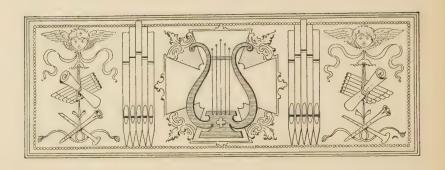
Conference, which required that all the traveling preachers should be members of the committees, and the superintendents preside in their meetings.

The Sunday schools gave a new impulse to the song worship of the Methodist Church. Wesley had evidence of this



ROBERT RAIKES AND THE CURATE IN HARE LANE, GLOUCESTER.

before he died. On his first visit to the Bolton school he was entranced by the singing of the children. On his second visit he found a "hundred such trebles, boys and girls selected out of the Sunday school, and accurately taught, as are not found together in any chapel, cathedral, or music room within the four seas. Besides, the spirit with which they all sing, and the beauty of many of them, so suits the melody that I defy any to exceed it; except the singing of angels in our Father's house."



CHAPTER CXI

Methodist Melodies

THE REVIVAL OF SACRED SONG,—THE OLD PARISH CLERKS.—THE MUSICAL FRIENDSHIPS OF THE WESLEYS.—THE FIRST TUNE BOOKS.

— LAMPE AND HANDEL.—PITHY PRECEPTS FOR SINGERS.—THE SPIRITUAL POWER OF SONG.

ITHIN half a century the new song which burst from the lips of the Wesleys at their Pentecost had become the mighty chorus of a hundred and twenty thousand Methodists. The Great Revival of personal religion and Primitive Church fellowship was also a revival of social worship and sacred song.

As in apostolic days, "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" were used for the awakening and expression of the deepest emotions of the new life. Every evangelical revival had been accompanied by an outburst of holy music. The Moravians, whose melodies Wesley heard in the Atlantic storm, echoed the earlier songs of the followers of Huss. Luther, Hans Sachs, and a noble band of singers had made all Germany ring with the stirring chorals of the Reformation. "The psalm singing of the Huguenots," says Quick's Synopticon, "contributed mightily to the downfall of popery and to the propagation of the Gospel in France." In England, Bishop Burnet tells us, "psalms and hymns were sung by

all who loved the Reformation; it was a sign by which men's affections to it were measured, whether they used to sing them or not." Bishop Jewel speaks of "six thousand people singing together" at Paul's Cross, which "was very grievous to the papists." And Methodism, intensely Protestant, antisacerdotal, and claiming for every man the right of personal and social worship, awakened a multitude of singers with new melody in their hearts and voices.

A revival of spiritual song was sorely needed. Church music was probably at its worst about the time of the first two Georges. The Spectator complains that all solemn thoughts were driven out of his head by the merry jig notes which followed on the organ; and Jeremy Collier refers to similar performances when he says: "Church music must have no voluntary maggots, no military tattoos, no light and galliardizing notes. Religious harmony must be moving, but noble withal, grave, solemn, and seraphic; fit for a martyr to play and an angel to hear."

The parish clerk was a great personage, and had charge of the singing in most country churches. Wesley loved the Church too much to caricature its services, but he pictures the typical clerk as "a poor, humdrum wretch, who can scarce read what he drones out with such an air of importance," and refers to the "screaming boys, who bawl out what they neither feel nor understand," and "the scandalous doggerel of Hopkins and Sternhold." He condemns the custom of taking "two staves" of a psalm without regard to the appropriateness of the words, and describes the congregation "lolling at ease, or in the indecent posture of sitting, drawling out one word after another."

Even at the beginning of the present century Hartley Coleridge describes the clerks in churches untouched by the

Revival selecting tunes and verses that make the psalmody as distracting and irrational an episode as the jigs and coun-



DRAWN AND ENGRAVED BY WM, HOGARTH.

THE OLD PARISH CLERK.
Hogarth's "Sleeping Congregation."

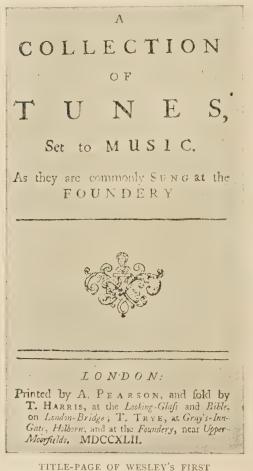
try dances scraped between the acts of a tragedy, and rendering the liturgy "wholly ludicrous by all imaginable tones,

twangs, drawls, mouthings, wheezings, gruntings, snuffles, and quid-rollings; by all diversions of dialects, cacologies, and cacophonies; by twistings, contortions, and consolidations of visage, squintings, and upcastings of eyes." It is not surprising that Wesley "with honest pride triumphantly contrasted the practice of his own people in this respect with that of the parish churches."

In the preface to a reprint of John Wesley's first hymn book of 1737 and first tune book of 1742 Dr. Osborn says: "The first Methodists at Oxford sang psalms in proportion to their earnestness in religion. When they declined, and shrank from the reproach of serious godliness, the psalm singing in their little meetings was given up. After their day of Pentecost had come, at Whitsuntide, 1738, the habit of singing was revived, as the biographies abundantly testify. And when hundreds more had their lips opened by the sense of pardoning mercy, obtained under the preaching of the two brothers, the revival of singing in England became very marked and general, and tune books as well as hymn books came into request. John Wesley supplied his people with four tune books, and appears to have permitted, if he did not encourage, the use of two others."

We have already given specimens of the Moravian tunes which Wesley introduced into his first tune book. Four years later Methodism had its own distinctive music and its own composer. Charles Wesley's son Samuel tells us: "The late J. F. Lampe, a native of Germany, and an accomplished musician, at the solicitation of my father, who had an extreme regard for him, furnished an admirable set of tunes fitted to several of the meters which in the author's time were in high estimation and general use." In 1745 John Wesley wrote in his Journal, "I spent an hour with Mr.

Lampe, who had been a deist for many years, till it pleased God by the 'earnest appeal' to bring him to a better mind." And Charles Wesley writes a year later: "I spent the after-



TUNE BOOK.

where we caught a physician by the ear, through the help of Mr. Lampe and some of our sisters. This is the true use of music." Lampe gave twenty-four tunes to early Methodism. Among these John Wesley's favorite was "Wednesbury," which carries the name of that once riotous village. In an old manuscript, written by an eyewitness, his last visit "to his children at Whitehaven" is described: "After the sermon he gave out 'Lift up your hearts to things above,'to which he raised "Wednesbury," and finding we

noon at Mrs. Rich's,

could join him, he said, 'I am glad to find that you can sing my favorite tune.'"

It is remarkable that while the first bassoonist of the age

was attracted to the Wesleys, and rendered them good service, two other gifted foreigners, F. Giardini, the famous violinist, and his countryman, Giordini, the composer, came under



JOHN FREDERICK LAMPE.

the gracious influence of Lady Huntingdon. They composed tunes for the hymns used in her congregations, including the well-known "Moscow," "Pelham," and "Cambridge." We have already noticed the friendship of the Wesleys with Dr.

Pepusch, of the Charterhouse, who on his harpsicord entertained them with the stilted music of the ancients, discoursed in broken English on the geometric music of the Greeks,



WESLEY'S FAVORITE TUNE, BY LAMPE.

with its apotones, lemmas, and endless obscurities; and lamented that "the art of music is lost." He regarded Handel as a good "practical" musician, and Handel in turn regarded him as a mere pedant.

John Wesley heard Handel's "Messiah" in Bristol Cathedral in 1758, and wrote: "I doubt if that congregation was ever so serious at a sermon as they were during this performance. In many parts, especially several of the choruses, it exceeded my expectations." At the house of Mr. Rich the Wesleys frequently met Handel, and the master musician set three of Charles Wesley's hymns to music. The manuscripts in Handel's own handwriting are in the library of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. For many years the "Messiah" was rendered on Christmas Day morning at 7 o'clock, in the morning chapel, City Road.

It is not surprising that under such influences the musical

taste of the Wesleys was of a high order, and that the Minutes of Conference contain many instructions on singing. "Preach frequently on singing; suit the tune to the words;" "Do not suffer the people to sing too slow;" "Let the women sing their parts alone; let no man sing with them unless he understands the notes and sings the bass." Exhort everyone in the congregation to sing; in every large society let them learn to sing;" "Recommend our tune book everywhere."

The preface to the Sacred Harmony of 1781 contains much pithy and practical advice. "Sing all. Sing lustily and with a good courage," not "as if you were half dead or half asleep, but lift up your voice with strength. Be no more afraid of your voice now, nor more ashamed of it being heard, than when you sung the songs of Satan. Sing modestly. Do not bawl, so as to be heard above or distinct from the rest of the congregation, that you may not destroy the harmony, but strive to unite your voices together, so as to make one clear, melodious sound. Sing in time, and take care you sing not too slow. This drawling way naturally steals on all who are lazy, and it is high time to drive it out from among us, and sing all our tunes just as quick as we did at first. Above all, sing spiritually. Have an eye to God in every word you sing. Aim at pleasing him more than yourself or any other creature. In order to do this, attend strictly to the sense of what you sing, and see that your heart is not carried away with the sound, but offered to God continually; so shall your singing be such as the Lord shall approve of here, and reward when he cometh in the clouds of heaven."

The new song of Methodism, bursting from hearts throbbing with the energy of a new life, attracted crowds to the services, and was a great evangelizing force. The singing often preceded preaching in the awakening of the unconverted. John Berridge wrote to Wesley in 1759: "As soon as three or four receive convictions in a village they are desired to meet together two or three nights a week, which they



JOHN CHRISTOPHER PEPUSCH, MUS. DOC.

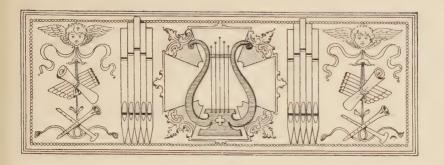
readily comply with. At first they only sing, afterward they join reading and prayer to singing, and the presence of the Lord is greatly with them. Let me mention two instances. At Orwell ten people were broken down in one night, only by hearing a few people sing hymns. At Grandchester,

a mile from Cambridge, seventeen people were seized with strong convictions last week, only by hearing hymns sung. When societies get a little strength and courage they begin to read and pray, and then the Lord magnifies his love as well as power among them by releasing souls out of bondage."

The Arminian Magazine of 1781 gives a curious story of the power of the Methodist singing, told by one of the Irish preachers. At Wexford the society was persecuted by Papists, and met in a closed barn. One of the persecutors had agreed to conceal himself within it beforehand, that he might open the door to his comrades after the people were assembled. He crept into a sack hard by the door. The singing commenced, but the Hibernian was so taken with the music that he thought he would hear it through before disturbing the meeting. He was so much gratified that at its conclusion he thought he would hear the prayer also; but this was too powerful for him; he was seized with remorse and trembling, and roared out with such dismay as to appall the congregation, who began to believe that Satan himself was in the sack. The sack was at last pulled off him, and disclosed the Irishman, a weeping penitent, praying with all his might. Southey remarks that "this is the most comical case of instantaneous conversion that was ever recorded; and yet the man is said to have been thoroughly converted."

Whitefield as well as Wesley proved the power of sacred song. In 1745 the Weymouth association of ministers severely condemned his "practice of singing hymns in the public roads when riding from town to town." But they could not silence him. We see him riding from Evesham to Tewkesbury, escorted by a hundred horsemen and six thousand people, on a fine Sunday evening, the welkin ringing

with psalms and spiritual songs. Cennick introduced into some of the societies "praise meetings" for training the people. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists have developed a worship music of their own, rich in bold, plaintive melodies, often in the impressive minor key. They still preserve a custom of the early Methodists in repeating the last four lines of a hymn with growing fervor from three even to eight times. "Then it is," says Curwen, "that the strong emotional nature of the Celt is stirred. Women sing with eyes fixed upon vacancy, wholly lost in spiritual eestasy, the tears filling their eyes, their bodies swaying to and fro. The men, though they conceal it, are no less deeply touched." Their singing "plays upon the spirit like a storm or cataract."



CHAPTER CXII

The Old Songs and the New

THE OLD METRICAL PSALMS.—THE HYMNS OF WESLEY'S BOYHOOD.— THE FATHER OF ENGLISH HYMNODY.—THE TREASURY OF GERMAN SONG.—JOHN WESLEY, POET-TRANSLATOR.—SONGS AND SINGERS OF THE REVIVAL.

ORN in a house full of poets," the Wesley brothers were under training from their childhood for their work as choristers of the Church universal. Their father's metrical version of Psalm 114 won the unstinted praise of Addison, and the rector was in advance of his age in his desire for a reformed psalmody. In his letter to his curate he laments "the present parochial way of singing," but fears they must be content with "Grandsire Sternhold" for the present. He agrees with Beveridge that the common people would understand it better than the new version of Tate and Brady, "for," he adds caustically, "they have a strange genius at understanding nonsense." The Wesleys were probably acquainted with old Fuller's remark on Sternhold and Hopkins, "They were men whose piety was better than their poetry, and they had drunk more of the Jordan than Helicon." The gravity of the sprightly young Wesleys must have been sorely tried when their father's

clerk, with the huge bushy wig, gave out with the orthodox drawl Psalm xxii, 12:

So many buls do compass mee that be full strong of head; Yea, buls so fat, as though they had in Basan field beene fed.

"The merit of faithful adherence to the original," says Montgomery, "has been claimed for this version, and need not be denied; but it is the resemblance which the dead bear to the living." John Wesley, as we have observed, called it "scandalous doggerel," and in 1775 Romaine said, "The wits ridiculed it; the profane blasphemed it; good men did not defend it." Yet it ought not to be forgotten that it is to this version we owe the strong psalms,

All people that on earth do dwell,

and

The Lord descended from above.

At the meetings in the rectory kitchen Mrs. Wesley would probably feel free to use the New Version of the Psalms, containing

As pants the hart for cooling streams,

and she would welcome the collection by Samuel Bary, published in 1701, for family use. Some of her husband's psalms, and perhaps his hymn rescued from the fire in 1709,

Behold the Saviour of mankind,

would be used. Her son John inserted this hymn in his first hymn book, as well as his father's fine rendering of the Hymn of Eupolis. Some of her favorite George Herbert's poems she certainly often read, if she did not sing them, with Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns, Baxter's

Lord, it belongs not to my care,

and others by Samuel Crossman, John Austin, John Mason,

and Henry More—whose hymn on the Holy Spirit was also inserted in her son's first collection. Dryden's

Infinite God! to thee we raise,

and

Creator Spirit, by whose aid,

would be well known at the rectory. While John was at the Charterhouse, as we have noted, Addison's hymns appeared in the Spectator, and twenty years later Wesley was the first to introduce them into use for public worship.

In 1719, the year Addison died, Isaac Watts, the "father of English hymnody," as Sir Roundell Palmer calls him, published his Psalms of David imitated in the language of the New Testament; and because they were evangelical imitations, and not literal versions, they were really hymns, introducing a new style of Christian lyrical poetry, free from the fetters of the old Jewish psalmody. Watts was the first to overcome the prejudice against the use of hymns in public worship-a prejudice expressed by Romaine, who said he objected to Dr. Watts's "whims." His work, like that of most facile writers, was unequal in quality. "How could any man write six hundred religious poems and produce quality in proportion to quantity save in an inverse ratio?" asks Dr. George MacDonald in his England's Antiphon. But many of his hymns were of surpassing excellence, as John Wesley testified by including twenty-seven of them in his first hymn book. One of them,

I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,

is associated forever with Wesley's last hours. Wesley was not the only famous man who passed away with Watts's words on his lips. When Daniel Webster lay dying the last words which fell from the eloquent lips, which had so often moved the Senate with overwhelming power, were the words of Dr. Watts's fifty-first Psalm:

Show pity, Lord; O Lord, forgive; Let the repenting rebel live! Are not thy mercies large and free? May not a sinner trust in thee?

And the gravestone of the great missionary, William Carey, in Bengal, contains, besides the name and date, only that final confession of his faith, in Watts's lines:

A guilty, weak, and helpless worm, Into Thy hands I fall.

John Wesley's knowledge of the German language, acquired on his first Atlantic voyage, opened up to him the splendid treasury of German hymnody. For, as Dr. Philip Schaff has well said in Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology, the "church hymn, in the strict sense of the term, as a popular religious lyric in praise of God, to be sung by the congregation in public worship, was born with the German Reformation." Ten thousand German hymns have become more or less popular, and have enriched the hymn books of Churches of other tongues, and nearly a thousand are "classical and immortal." "John Wesley," says Dr. Schaff, "was one of the first English divines who appreciated their value." He translated at least thirty hymns, five of which appeared in his first hymn book. Twenty-two are now in use. One, hitherto unpublished, appeared in the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society for 1897, with an account of Wesley's Manuscript Pocket Journal of 1736-7, in which some of the original translations are found. "They are probably the finest translations in the English language," says Garret Horder, "They are so good that they read like original English compositions." Professor Banks places at their head the fine rendering of Rothe's

Now I have found the ground wherein,

and Tersteegen's

Thou hidden love of God, whose height

(Verborgne Gottesliebe du); and

Lo! God is here! let us adore

(Gott ist gegenwartig). Two lines,

My heart is pained, nor can it be At rest till it finds rest in Thee,

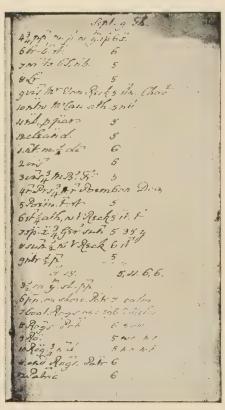
are a perfect reproduction of St. Augustine's famous saying, "Inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te." The others of the thirty are of scarcely inferior merit. Richard Cobden is said to have repeated with his last breath Wesley's rendering of Scheffler:

Thee will I love, my joy, my crown,
Thee will I love, my Lord, my God;
Thee will I love, beneath thy frown
Or smile, thy scepter or thy rod.
What though my flesh and heart decay:
Thee shall I love in endless day!

"There is a freshness and spirit in handling the original," says Professor J. Taft Hatfield, "which makes these hymns masterpieces of translation not unworthy to be compared with Luther's versions of the Hebrew Psalms. As an original poet Wesley's chief trait is loftiness, majesty; the 'great style' at its full height, never becoming florid or bombastic. Again and again we mark the swelling of the deep Miltonian organ tone, where the original shows a much less exalted strain."

In Wesley's curious Manuscript Pocket Journal, written in

Georgia, of which a facsimile page is here given, the contracted note in the eleventh line should be read thus: "3



A PAGE OF WESLEY'S POCKET DIARY.

visited. (Read) Mme. Bourignon's French MS." Her hymn,

Come, Saviour, Jesus, from above,

was probably translated by Byrom and revised by Wesley. One of Wesley's translations from the Spanish is a sublime rendering of Psalm 63:

O God, my God, my all thou art.

John Wesley's modesty has made it difficult to distinguish his original hymns from those of his brother. His paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, to which his name is attached, is one of the finest in the English language. His severer taste pruned

his brother's hymns of luxuriances, and on comparing those which John edited with the originals it will be found that they gained much by his unsparing censorship. John Wesley strongly objected to any "mending" of his own hymns, but he mended the hymns of others with a clear conscience, and with what success one example of his handling of the famous hymn writer, Watts, will suffice to show:

AS WRITTEN BY WATTS.

The God that rules on high
And thunders when he please,
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And manages the seas.

AS REVISED BY WESLEY,

The God that rules on high
And all the earth surveys,
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And calms the roaring seas.

After their spiritual Pentecost of 1738 the two brothers cooperated, both as authors and editors, and issued fifty-four
publications, making on an average one every year until the
death of John. The year after City Road Chapel was opened
the Large Book was advertised in the Arminian Magazine,
and it was published in 1780. It was entitled A Collection
of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists, and
contained five hundred and twenty-five hymns selected from
twenty-one previous publications. The following list, with
the number of hymns taken from each previous collection,
will give some idea of the genesis of the existing Methodist
hymn books, and of the rich fountain of sacred song which
was unsealed by the evangelical conversion of the brothers:

Hymns included in the Large Book of 1780. I. A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, 1737, '38, '41, '43..... 2. Hymns and Sacred Poems, 1739..... 3. " " " " 1740..... 45 4. Hymns on God's Everlasting Love, 1741..... 17 5. Hymns and Sacred Poems, 1742.... 91 6. A Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems, 1744..... Ι 7 Funeral Hymns (First Series, pp. 24), 1746..... 8. Hymns for the Nativity, 1746..... 9. Hymns for Times of Trouble and Persecution, 1744..... 10. Hymns for the Lord's Supper, 1745.... II. Hymns of Petition and Thanksgiving for the Promise of the Father (Hymns for Whitsuntide), 1746. 12. Hymns for Those that Seek and Those that Have Redemption in the Blood of Jesus Christ, 1747..... 13. Hymns and Sacred Poems (2 vols., by C. W.), 1749..... 131 14. Hymns for New Year's Day, 1750..... 15. Hymns Occasioned by the Earthquake, Parts I and II, 1750.... 16. Hymns for the Year 1756, 1756.....

Hymns include Large Book o	ed in the
17. Hymns of Intercession for all Mankind, 1758	6
18. Hymns on Short Passages of Holy Scripture (2 vols.), 1762	84
19. Hymns for Children, 1763	16
20. Hymns for Families, 1767	24
21. Hymns on the Trinity, 1767	13

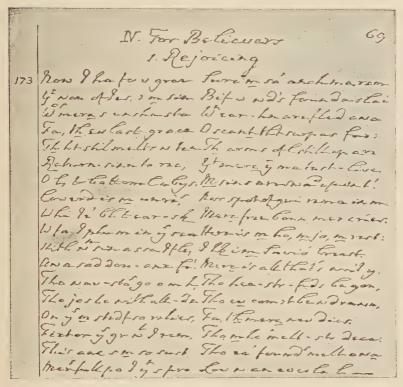
Only one copy of the first hymn book, published at Charleston, S. C., is known to exist, but, as we have noted, a facsimile reprint of this was published in 1882. Its value in the book world, and as the "first hymn book published for use in the Church of England" (Julian), is indicated by the curious fact that the little volume was sold at auction at Sotheby's Rooms, London, in 1889, for £20 10s. The edition of 1738 is excessively rare, only two copies being known to exist.

One of the most interesting relics of Wesley is his manuscript hymn book, which he carried with him on his journeys. He was seventy-five when he wrote it, in 1778. It is in long shorthand, the hymns occupying one hundred and sixty-six pages with index. A facsimile of a portion of one hymn is here given. The precious volume is in the book steward's safe at City Road, London.

John Wesley calls the hymns "a body of experimental and practical divinity." They were not only intended for congregational use, they were a compendium of theology and a manual of private devotion; and when the voices of the preachers were stilled the hymns remained for the deepening of the spiritual life of the people, the elevation of their worship, and the development of their character. "It is a great recommendation to the hymns of both Wesleys," says an Anglican historian, "that, although they are often mystical in tone, and appeal persistently to the feelings, they are

thoroughly practical, never losing sight of active Christian morality."

In the library of Headingley College there is a letter of 1740



FACSIMILE HALF-PAGE FROM WESLEY'S MANUSCRIPT HYMN BOOK.

by P. H. Molther, a Moravian, to John Wesley, in reference to his translation of Rothe's hymn:

Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden

(Now I have found the ground wherein). Molther writes: "I return many thanks to you for sending me the translation of the German hymn I desired. You have done it perfectly well, except one expression in the last two lines of the second

verse, which I think much more emphatical in the German than they are expressed in the English:

Dem allemal das Herze bricht, Wir kommen oder kommen nicht.

(Whose heart breaks always, we may come or not.) However, I like it better than any other hymn I have seen in English."

From Molther's first sentence it may perhaps be inferred that he first brought Rothe's hymn to Wesley's knowledge, and desired him to translate it. Of the justness of the criticism as to the two lines quoted we may judge by comparing with them the corresponding words of Wesley:

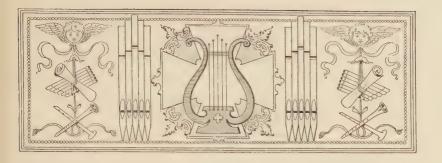
Father, thine everlasting grace
Our scanty thought surpasses far:
Thy heart still melts with tenderness;
Thy arms of love still open are
Returning sinners to receive,
That mercy they may taste and live.

The German hymn is a very fine one, but it comes far behind the translation in force, pathos, and melody, Portions of this noble hymn were among the last words of Fletcher, of Madeley. John Andreas Rothe (1688–1758) was a friend of Count Zinzendorf, whose hymn in Wesley's version,

Jesu, thy blood and righteousness,

expresses the Methodist doctrine of universal redemption so forcefully:

Lord, I believe were sinners more Than sands upon the ocean shore, Thou hast for all a ransom paid, For all a full atonement made.



CHAPTER CXIII

The Chief Chorister

THE POET OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.—A CRITICAL REVIEW.—A MASTER OF METER AND RHYTHM.—SOME FAVORITE HYMNS.—SPARKLING SPONTANEITY.—REVIVAL SONGS.—NATIONAL EVENTS.—THE PRAISE OF CHRISTENDOM.

T has been truly said that Charles Wesley would have been universally recognized as one of the greatest poets that ever sang but for the fact that he not only was purely and intensely religious, but preeminently the poet of religion, of religious revival, and of the loftiest and the deepest spiritual life. Isaac Taylor affirms that "there is no principal element of Christianity, no main article of belief as professed by Protestant Churches, there is no moral or ethical sentiment peculiarly characteristic of the Gospel, no height or depth of feeling proper to the spiritual life, that does not find itself emphatically and pointedly and clearly conveyed in some stanza of Charles Wesley's hymns." Mr. T. H. Gill, himself a hymn writer of great merit, says: "It is as the utterer of the soul's special needs and special states, of its highest flights and topmost heights-in other words, as the poet of a revival—that he stands alone. The longing for full forgiveness and full sanctification, the joy of conversion, the rapture of assurance, the marvels of allwithstanding, all-subduing, all-accomplishing faith, its victory over the world and the grave, the triumph and the transport of the soul, have never been so sung as by Charles Wesley." In his great Dictionary of Hymnology, Julian assigns to



FROM A COPPERPLATE ENGRAVING.
CHARLES WESLEY.

The portrait published in the Arminian Magazine, May, 1792.

Charles Wesley the same unique position as a hymn writer.

Viewed from the purely literary standpoint, however, the excellence of his lyrical poetry has not been unrecognized. One of the latest critics of eighteenth century literature, Professor Edmund Gosse, of Trinity College, Cambridge, says that "there can

be little question that the sacred songs of Charles Wesley, most of them called 'hymns of experience,' reach at their noblest the highest level of Protestant religious poetry in this country since the days of George Herbert. His 'Wrestling Jacob' is his masterpiece, and is inspired by a genuine dramatic passion." This is the celebrated hymn, beginning:

Come, O thou Traveler unknown.

When Dr. Watts read this hymn, with a noble modesty he said, "That single poem is worth all the verses I have ever written!" Watts was right in calling this a poem rather than a hymn.

John Wesley thought that the funeral hymn,

Come, let us join our friends above,

was the sweetest of all his brother ever wrote. Dean Stanley prized most of all the verses on "Catholic Love," which were first printed at the close of his brother's sermon on "Catholic Spirit:"

Weary of all this wordy strife,

These notions, forms, and modes, and names,
To thee, the Way, the Truth, the Life,

Whose love my simple heart inflames,
Divinely taught, at last I fly,

With thee and thine to live and die.

My brethren, friends, and kinsmen these
Who do my heavenly Father's will;
Who aim at perfect holiness,
And all thy counsels to fulfill;
Athirst to be whate'er thou art,
And love their God with all their heart.

For these, howe'er in flesh disjoined,
Where'er dispersed o'er earth abroad,
Unfeigned unbounded love I find,
And constant as the life of God;
Fountain of life, from thence it sprung,
As pure, as even, and as strong.

Henry Ward Beecher declared: "I would rather have written that hymn of Wesley's,

Jesus, Lover of my soul, Let me to thy bosom fly,

than to have the fame of all the kings that ever sat on the earth. It is more glorious. It has more power in it." When

his own eminent father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, lay on his deathbed, the last sign of life was given in response to these blessed lines.

A keen literary critic and master of style, Dr. Gregory, considers that Charles Wesley "owes much of the compactness, the precision, the grace, the ease, and music of his verse to his familiarity with the best classic models. No other English poet has such a variety, few have such a mastery of meter."

In the iambic common meter, the meter of the old English ballad and carol—of "Chevy Chace" and "God rest you, merry gentlemen"—it was impossible to surpass, it was glorious to come up to, Watts at his very best, whether in impetus and bound, as in

My God, the spring of all my joys;

or in gravity and grandeur, as in

O God, our help in ages past;

or in breezy sweep, as of "the wafture of a world-wide wing," as in

Father, how wide thy glory shines;

or

Eternal Wisdom, thee we praise.

In this, Watts, if he were not so unequal, would be quite unequaled. In the iambic long meter Charles Wesley bears the palm for stateliness of structure and majesty of movement. Of this his "Hymn to be Sung at Sea" is a fine example.

In its cheery, tripping form—that of Marlowe's "Come dwell with me, and be my love"—he is equally at home, as in

Come, sinners, to the Gospel feast.

In "6-8's," at least in his favorite form of it, Charles Wesley is unrivaled; witness

Come, O thou Traveler unknown.

In fact he and his brother (in his translations from the German) lifted that meter from the popular pathos of "Sweet William's Farewell" and "All in the Downs the fleet was moored," or the descriptive humor of Shakespeare's "When icicles hang on the wall," to a grand spiritual elevation.

In the second form of "6-8's" he has Dryden's energy and loftiness, with none of Dryden's roughness. Take as proof his majestic version of the Te Deum:

Thee all the choir of angels sings, The Lord of hosts, the King of kings; Cherubs proclaim thy praise aloud, And seraphs shout the triune God; And "Holy, holy, holy," cry, "Thy glory fills both earth and sky."

His short meter, too, has a ringing resonance and a mighty march which have never been outdone; for example:

Soldiers of Christ, arise!
And put your armor on.

Sometimes he makes its elastic feet to spring and clang "like hinds' feet on the high places," as in his

We shall our time beneath
Live out in cheerful hope;
And fearless pass the vale of death,
And gain the mountain top.

In the management of trochaic meters Charles Wesley is equally deft. Of the meter "7's" he brings out all the varied capability. In the universally adopted

Jesus, Lover of my soul,

the chosen death song of a multitude of the redeemed, and in

Depth of mercy! can there be Mercy still reserved for me?

is felt all its flowing, flutelike sweetness, all its aptitude

for pleading plaint, for absolute abjection, and for passive trust.

In the meter "6-7's" he comes up to his highest models; Shakespeare's "Take, O take those lips away," and Ben Jonson's "Queen and huntress, chaste and fair." Take as a specimen one of Charles Wesley's hymns which has received recognition as a Christian lyric; that with which George Eliot represents Seth Bede, the village Methodist, as singing down all his griefs, perplexities, and cares, as he strode across the lonely Derbyshire moors on a bright Sunday morning:

A MORNING HYMN.

Christ, whose glory fills the skies, Christ, the true, the only Light, Sun of righteousness, arise, Triumph o'er the shades of night; Dayspring from on high, be near; Day-star, in my heart appear.

It may be well to place side by side with this the other morning hymn, which George Eliot describes another country Methodist, Dinah Morris, as singing, beneath the same heart-bruising sorrow, as she lights her fire and dusts her little cottage room. The words breathe a "peace which passeth all understanding," and "a joy unspeakable and full of glory;" in powerful contrast with the profound unrest, the melancholy misgiving, and the prevailing mental and moral malaise to which unbelief had doomed the great agnostic novelist and poet:

Eternal Beam of Light divine,
Fountain of unexhausted love,
In whom the Father's glories shine
Through earth beneath and heaven above;
Jesus, the weary wanderer's rest,

Jesus, the weary wanderer's rest,
Give me thy easy yoke to bear;
With steadfast patience arm my breast,
With spotless love and lowly fear.

* * * * * * *

Speak to my warring passions, "Peace!"
Say to my trembling heart, "Be still!"
Thy power my strength and fortress is,
For all things serve thy sovereign will.

Charlotte Brontë incidentally alludes in Shirley to the strange blending of wailing pathos with exultation in some of Wesley's hymns. She describes the effect of overhearing, as she passed the door of a Yorkshire cottage where a Methodist meeting was being held, the impassioned singing of the hymn:

O, who can explain this struggle for life! This travail and pain, this trembling and strife! Plague, earthquake, and famine, and tumult, and war, The wonderful coming of Jesus declare.

Yet God is above men, devils, and sin; My Jesus's love the battle shall win; So terribly glorious his coming shall be, His love, all-victorious, shall conquer for me.

* * * *

The tradition that the hymn,

Lo, on a narrow neck of land,

was written at Land's End, Cornwall, has been exploded by the discovery of a letter which Charles Wesley wrote in 1736 to Lady Oglethorpe from Jekyl Island, on the coast of southern Georgia, where her husband, the general, resided. This lady was visiting Savannah when Charles Wesley wrote: "Last evening I wandered to the north end of the island and stood upon the narrow point which your ladyship will recall as there projecting into the ocean. The vastness of the watery waste, as compared with my standing place, called to mind the briefness of human life and the immensity of its consequences; and my surroundings inspired me with the inclosed hymn, beginning:

Lo, on a narrow neck of land, 'Twixt two unbounded seas I stand,

which I trust may pleasure your ladyship, weak and feeble as it is when compared with the songs of the sweet psalmist of Israel."

Lady Oglethorpe, in a letter to her father-in-law, wrote: "The Secretary of the Colony, Charles Wesley, dwells

Je Sinone Major.

Joseph Galorione Major.

Jo The gainst myself, is The A worm of Earth & eng.

An half-awakend Ohis of Man.

An Heir of endless Bliss or Jain.

A Jinner born to die.

2. Lo! on a harrow Nech of Land.

Juich Two unbounded vers I stand.

Je care, inversible!

A Point of Life a Momenti Space.

Removes me to that Account, Place.

Or Shubs me up in Ach.

PART OF ONE OF CHARLES WESLEY'S HYMNS.

In his own handwriting.

with us upon the island, and is zealous to save the souls of the Indians who come hither to fish and hunt. . . . Mr. Wesley has the gift of verse, and has written many sweet hymns, which we sing." This was two years before

Charles Wesley's Day of Pentecost, and the prayer of the hymn,

O God! my inmost soul convert,

has therefore a touching significance.

With "sparkling spontaneity" Charles Wesley celebrated almost every striking incident of his life and of the Great Revival in ever-varying verse. He gives us fragments of family history in his exultant birthday hymns. After his recovery from sickness, in 1738, he wrote:

To Thee, benign and saving Power, I consecrate my lengthened days.

His conversion brought a rapturous outburst of praise in the epochal hymns already quoted. The fervent response of the Newcastle crowds, who forgot the sharp frost as they listened and worshiped, and the blazing furnaces which illuminated the sky supplied the occasion and imagery for the animated hymn:

See how great a flame aspires, Kindled by a spark of grace!

And after a sermon to the colliers in the same place he wrote the spirited appeal:

Ye neighbors and friends of Jesus, draw near.

In Cornwall, he tells us, "he expressed the gratitude of his heart in the thanksgiving:

All thanks be to God,
Who scatters abroad,
Throughout every place,
By the least of his servants, his savor of grace,
Who the victory gave,
The praise let him have,
For the work he hath done:
All honor and glory to Jesus alone!"

The miracles of grace among the Kingswood colliers in 1740 inspired his hymn:

The people that in darkness lay, In sin and error's deadly shade, Have seen a glorious Gospel day In Jesu's lovely face displayed.

Thou only, Lord, the work hast done,
And bared thine arm in all our sight;
Hast made the reprobates thine own,
And claimed the outcasts as thy right.

And preaching among the Portland quarries with such success that "the rocks were broken and melted into tears on every side," he wrote:

Come, O thou all-victorious Lord, Thy power to us make known; Strike with the hammer of thy word, And break these hearts of stone!

Interrupted by some half-tipsy sailors, who roared the favorite song, "Nancy Dawson," his quick ear caught the air and meter, and he challenged them to come again and sing a new song to their tune. In the evening the tars rolled up to hear him sing to their rattling melody his stirring lines on music:

Music, alas! too long has been
(Why should a good be evil?)
'Listed into the cause of sin,
Pressed to obey the devil.
Drunken, or lewd, or light, the lay
Flows to the soul's undoing;
Widens and strews with flowers the way
Down to eternal ruin.

Come, let us try if Jesu's love
Will not as well inspire us:
This is the theme of those above,
This upon earth shall fire us.
Jesus the soul of music is;
His is the noblest passion.
Jesus's name is life and peace,
Happiness and salvation.

* * * * * * * *

Who hath a right like us to sing,
Us whom his mercy raises?
Merry our hearts, for Christ is King,
Cheerful are all our faces.
Who of his love doth once partake,
He evermore rejoices:
Melody with our hearts we make,
Melody with our voices.

His Hymns of God's Everlasting Love were fanned into intensity by the Calvinistic controversy. "How can you say you will not dispute with me about election," said Whitefield, "and yet print such hymns?"

Father, whose everlasting love
Thy only Son for sinners gave;
Whose grace to all did freely move,
And sent him down the world to save:

Help us thy mercy to extol,
Immense, unfathomed, unconfined;
To praise the Lamb who died for all,
The general Saviour of mankind.

When the Moravians disparaged the means of grace by their doctrine of "stillness" he wrote:

Still for thy loving-kindness, Lord, I in thy temple wait.

His "earthquake hymns," and those written for the national fast when a threatened French invasion created a panic, have been referred to. Southey pronounced one of these the finest lyric in our language. It begins:

Stand the omnipotent decree; Jehovah's will be done.

The day after the house and library of his old schoolfellow, Lord Mansfield, were destroyed by fire, in the Gordon Riots of 1780, he wrote:

"Havoe!" the infernal leader cries:
"Havoe!" the associate host replies:
The rabble shouts, the torrent pours,
The city sinks, the flame devours!

A short hymn, entitled "Upon notice sent one that his House was Marked," seems to show that Wesley himself was in danger.

His funeral hymns enshrine the memory of his personal friends and represent his best work; among them are:

Come, let us join our friends above,

and

How happy every child of grace.

One of his Hymns for Children,

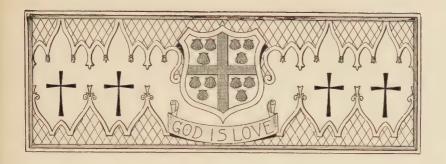
Gentle Jesus, meek and mild,

as Telford well says, "has become a household prayer for Christendom."

His lyrics for the Christian festivals have entered into the worship of the Church universal. The first lines of his Christmas hymn were altered by Whitefield and Madan; the original is:

Hark how all the welkin rings! Glory to the King of kings; Peace on earth and mercy mild; God and sinners reconciled.

Nearly one in ten of all Church hymns in the best collections are by Charles Wesley—a larger proportion than in the case of any other writer. It is impossible to estimate "the measure of their influence on the Christian song of the world." In his Short History of the English People, John Richard Green says that "a new musical impulse was aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England."



CHAPTER CXIV

The Swan Song of Charles Wesley

"Worthy of Every Good Man's Love."—Glimpses of Oglethorpe and Wilberforce.—Some Famous Friends.—In the Church and the Pulpit.—"In Age and Feebleness Extreme."—The Last Verse.—Charles Wesley's Musical Sons.

HARLES WESLEY, who, as the sturdy schoolboy Captain of Westminster, had fought in defense of the little Lord Mansfield, was of somewhat stouter build than his brother John, though, like him, he was below the middle stature. He was shortsighted, abrupt and unaffected in manner, and when the "fine frenzy" was high would run into his brother's room at Oxford and greatly disturb the fraternal don by jolting the table, scattering the papers and books; and after repeating some poetry, and asking questions in quick succession without waiting for a reply, he would leave the room as suddenly as he had entered. John, who was all method and order, bore it with wondrous patience. Yet Charles was not desultory in his general habits, for his handwriting was always neat, as our facsimiles show, and to the end of life he kept his personal accounts with exactness.

His natural impetuosity was revealed at one of the early 1035

Conferences, when, indignant because a preacher took up the time relating his experience, he cried, "Stop that man from speaking; let us attend to business." The preacher still went on. "Unless he stops I'll leave the Conference," said



CHARLES WESLEY'S LONDON HOME.

Charles Wesley lived seventeen years in this dwelling,

1 Great Chesterfield Street, Marylebone.

Charles. John, ever calm and self-possessed, effectively checked the outburst by saying, "Reach him his hat."

Yet he was generous and affectionate, "with a soul formed for friendship," and, as Overton says, thoroughly worthy of every good man's love. His varying moods made him more dependent on the presence and sympathy of his friends than John, and during his seventeen years of residence at I Great Chesterfield Street, Marylebone, he greatly appreciated the

social intercourse which a settled life afforded, although here he was subject to greater extremes of high spirits and depression than in his itinerant days.

Marylebone was still a pleasant rural retreat in 1771, although Hogarth's description of thirty years before could not

now be so well applied to it: "The Rake's Wedding was at Marylebone, a rural village on the outskirts of London." But the old church was standing, and still stands as depicted in Hogarth's print. Green fields then stretched from Whitefield's Tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road to Charles Wesley's house. The house was rebuilt about thirty years ago. A present tenant of it was a frequent visitor at the old house—on the same site—which projected farther over the roadway than the present building. It stands near St. James's Chapel.

To Charles Wesley's house came Dr. Johnson.

"I understand, sir," he said, "your boys are skilled in music; pray let me hear them."

When they began to play Johnson took up a book and began "reading and rolling." As soon as the music ceased he seemed to wake from a trance. He simply said:

"Young gentlemen, I am much obliged to you," and walked off. Some of his letters to Charles Wesley and to his daughter Sarah have been preserved.

Earl Mansfield, afterward Lord Chief Justice of England, often came from Bloomsbury Square to see his old school-fellow. The Earl of Mornington, father of the Duke of Wellington, also came to seek the Methodist clergyman's counsel, and a letter he wrote in 1778 shows his appreciation of Charles Wesley's spiritual help. He breakfasted occasionally for many years with the poet and his family, and practiced with the musical sons, Charles and Samuel, on various instruments. The venerable General Oglethorpe, now more than eighty years old, but fresh and vigorous, was another welcome visitor, and would talk over the events of forty-five years before, in the early history of Georgia. It is said that about this time the aged general, meeting John Wesley, kissed his hand and showed him every mark of respect.

Wilberforce, then a rising young statesman, gives an account of an interview with Charles Wesley, in 1786, at the house of their friend, Mrs. Hannah More: "When I came into the room Charles Wesley arose from the table, around which a numerous party sat at tea, and, coming forward, gave me his solemn blessing. I was scarcely ever more affected. Such was the effect of his manner and appearance that it altogether overset me, and I burst into tears, unable to restrain myself."

A pleasant picture of Charles Wesley in old age is given by Henry Moore. Clothed for winter even in summer, he rode every day upon a little horse gray with age. When he mounted his horse, if a subject struck him, he proceeded to expand it and put it in order. He had a card and pencil in his pocket, and wrote a hymn in shorthand. He often rode to the City Road Chapel house and entered, crying out: "Pen and ink! Pen and ink!" Supplied with these, he wrote the hymn he had been composing. This done, he would look around on those present and salute them with much kindness, ask after their health, give out a short hymn, and thus put all in mind of eternity. Frequently on such occasions he would give out:

There all the ship's company meet
Who sail'd with the Saviour beneath;
With shouting, each other they greet,
And triumph o'er sorrow and death.

The voyage of life's at an end,
The mortal affliction is past;
The age that in heaven they spend
Forever and ever shall last.

We have seen that in theory Charles Wesley was a more rigid Anglican Churchman than his brother John. In his practice he was much more flexible. "He talked with imposing emphasis of the canons of the Church, but he broke them as he listed. He recognized in words and arguments the episcopal jurisdiction over the clergy, but in conduct disavowed its control. He was ready to suffer martyrdom for the true episcopal succession, but he lampooned its living representatives."

He was the first to preach in church hours and administer the Lord's Supper in a Methodist place of worship, and he did this without the sanction of his brother. Thomas Jackson says that he did more than any other man whatever to create among the societies generally a desire for the administration of the sacraments by their own preachers, and thus prepared the way for the free Church organization of Methodism, although nothing could be further from his thoughts and purpose. His conversation with the Primate of Ireland, Dr. Robinson, already recorded, shows that he was as warm a defender of lay preaching as his brother.

In one of his private letters he states that the difference between him and his brother was that his brother's maxim was, "First the Methodists, then the Church;" whereas his was, "First the Church, then the Methodists;" and that this difference arose from their natural temperament. "My brother," said he, "is all hope; I am all fear." This is true; but it is also true that he had an overmastering passion for the spiritual life and fellowship of Methodism. Many of its people were his own spiritual children, who were devotedly attached to him. He was bound to them by a tie which his ecclesiastical theories failed to sever. Moore states that a living of the value of £500 a year was offered to him, which he declined, choosing to serve the Methodist congregations, with a scanty income, rather than accept a preferment and tear himself away from his old friends.

He was a soul-stirring preacher. In his earlier ministry he wrote carefully, but his later preaching was mostly extempore, and as his moods varied he was not always at his best. Dr. Osborn's father recorded Mr. Moore's reminiscences of the poet preacher: "He preached just as it happened. When not at liberty he strung texts together till his sermon was all Scripture." Mr. Moore gave illustrations of texts connected by a word, and added: "I have heard him preach thus by the hour, all being delivered with a peculiar intonation, a sort of singing. He leaned his arms on the book and kicked the back of the pulpit meanwhile. He never studied a sermon. I believe he had a conscientious scruple about it."

One night Charles Wesley said to Mr. Moore: "Now I knew that George Whitefield was waiting in Moorfields for my congregation from the Foundry, so I determined that as he had turned Calvinist he should not have them; and I kept them till nine o'clock. With my texts I could do that easily; but what would my brother have done, with his 'first,' 'second,' and 'third,' think you?"

Joseph Sutcliffe, the commentator, described him as, at the beginning of his discourse, the most deliberate, slow-speaking, and pauseful, but toward and at the close the most impetuous, impassioned, vehement, irresistible orator he ever heard. Many passages of the Journals show that "where only God and conscious sinners were before him it seemed as if nothing could withstand the wisdom and power with which he spake; to use the expression of a pious man, 'It was all thunder and lightning.'" Even in later life Moore had known him so mighty in proclaiming Christ that he would not have been surprised to see the whole congregation on their knees, or prostrate on their faces before God, crying for mercy.

John Wesley marked the difference between his own and

his brother's preaching with his usual discrimination. "O, insist everywhere on full redemption, receivable now by faith alone! consequently to be looked for now. You are made, as it were, for this very thing. Just here you are in your element. In connection I beat you; but in strong, short, pointed sentences you beat me. Go on, in your own way, what God has peculiarly called you to. Press the instantaneous blessings: then I shall have more time for my peculiar calling, enforcing the gradual work." When Henry Moore, who knew both the brothers intimately, was asked to describe their preaching, he replied, "John's preaching was all principles; Charles's was all aphorisms."

Five months before Charles Wesley's death the brothers both preached in the Temple Church, at Bristol, and thus closed their united ministry in that city. In February, 1788, it became evident that the poet's work was almost done. John cheered him with reports of the affectionate inquiries of the people, and, ever hopeful, urged him to go out an hour a day and he would be well in a month. "Never mind expense. I can make that up. You shall not die to save charges. . . . Peace be with all your spirits."

A few days before his death Charles Wesley called to his wife and requested her to write down the following lines:

In age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
Jesus, my only hope thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart;
O could I catch a smile from thee,
And drop into eternity!

This was the last verse he wrote.

Samuel Bradburn, then stationed in London, who sat up with him the last night of his life but one, says, "His mind was as calm as a summer evening." He told his wife that

no fiend was permitted to approach him, and that he had a good hope. When asked if he wanted anything, he replied, "Nothing but Christ." Some one said that the valley of the shadow of death was hard to be crossed. He exclaimed, "Not with Christ." All his family was present. He pressed his wife's hand, when too feeble to speak, to assure her that he knew her. After his last words, "Lord—my heart—my God!" he quietly fell asleep, on Saturday, March 29, 1788.

- 5. Mr. Charles Wefley, who after spending sourscore years with much forrow and pain, quietly retired into Abraham's bosom. He had no disease; but after a gradual decay of some months
- "The weary wheels of life flood still at last."

 His least praise was, his talent for Poetry: although Dr. Watts did not scruple to say, That "that single poem, Wrestling Jacob, is worth all the verses which I have ever written."
- 6. John Mealy, worn out in the fervice of his Master. He suffered much in his last illness, and died triumphant in the Lord.
- 7. John Burnet, a very pious, devoted, useful young man. He continued through a long illness in a very triumphant state of mind, and departed this life in extraordinary triumph.

OBITUARY NOTICES OF THE PREACHERS.

From the Arminian Magazine, November, 1788, including the notice of Charles Wesley's death.

It was found, by a careful comparison of the time, that as he passed to join the host above, John Wesley and his congregation in Shropshire were singing one of his brother's funeral hymns:

Come, let us join our friends above
That have obtained the prize,
And on the eagle wings of love
To joys celestial rise:

Let all the saints terrestrial sing
With those to glory gone;
For all the servants of our King,
In earth and heaven, are one.

A fortnight later, when at Bolton, John Wesley attempted to give out as his second hymn, "Come, O thou Traveler unknown," but when he came to the lines,

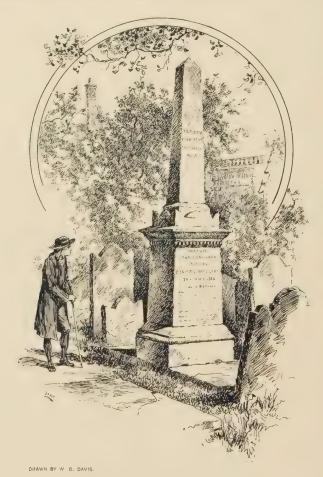
> My company before is gone, And I am left alone with Thee,

he sank beneath the sorrow of his bereavement, burst into a flood of tears, sat down in the pulpit, and hid his face with his hands. The crowded congregation well knew the cause of his speechless sorrow; singing ceased, and "the chapel became a Bochim." At length the aged preacher recovered, and went through a service which was never forgotten by those who were present. His love for his brother is expressed in his own words: "I have a brother who is as my own soul."

Charles Wesley was buried in the graveyard of the old Marylebone Church. Eight clergymen bore the pall, and his wife and children followed him to the grave. The obelisk now in the quiet churchyard replaced the decayed tombstone fifty years ago, and also marks the burial place of Mrs. Charles Wesley and her two musical sons.

Mrs. Charles Wesley was ninety-six when she died, in 1822, at Nottingham Street, Marylebone. She was a pious, cheerful, hospitable woman. Her daughter records that her only failing was her extreme indulgence toward her children. The Methodist Conference cared for her generously, and William Wilberforce and his friend Thornton supplemented her allowances. She left some charming letters of Wilberforce, written when sending her his gifts. The concluding lines

of one of her letters to her husband are here reproduced. Her daughter Sarah shared the Wesley poetic gifts, sprightliness and intelligence, and supplied the Methodist biographers,



GRAVE OF CHARLES WESLEY.

Dr. Adam Clarke and Thomas Jackson, with many facts concerning her father and her uncle John, with whom she was a great favorite. For some years she worked for the

press as a translator of foreign letters, under the direction of Dr. George Gregory. Her brother Charles lived with her till her death, at Bristol, in 1828. He was "as helpless as a child in all things except music, so that he sorely missed her watchful care."

Charles Wesley, Jr., is described in Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley's edition of Naumann's History of Music as "a well-known and much - admired organist and composer," and the tutor of his brother, the "great English composer, Samuel Wesley." His genius was manifested early. As a baby he would have his mother play to him with both hands. At two years and three quarters he played a tune on the harpsichord. Later, tied in his chair lest he should fall, he would play, putting a true bass to his tunes! He early created quite an

excitement by his performance of Handel's music, and he was a great favorite with George III. "When he was about eighteen years old the queen's page came to Chesterfield Street to summon him to Buckingham House that night at seven. "My heart," he says, "went pitapat." Kelway, the organist of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, whose voluntaries delighted Handel, said: "One cannot hear him play four bars without knowing him to be a genius. It is a divine gift." Dr. Boyce came several times to Chesterfield Street to hear him play. Dr. Arnold, Dr. Arne, and Giardini recognized his genius. He was simple and unaffected in manners, and quaint in his dress. For thirty years he wore a large blue overcoat which his father had worn before him. In the winter of 1822 it was stolen from the lobby of 14 Nottingham Street, and the owner felt he had lost "a real friend." He played until within two days of his death, in 1834. On his deathbed he hummed Handel's music, and fancied himself at his harpsichord, made by Tschudi, which had been Handel's.

Samuel Wesley, the younger brother, "has laid all English musicians under a deep obligation," says Naumann, "by being the first of our countrymen who made known to us the works of John Sebastian Bach. He was admitted to be the best organist of his day, and he excelled specially in the (now neglected) art of fugal extemporization." At the age of eight he composed and wrote, in boyish scrawl, an oratorio called "Ruth." One day Dr. Boyce called at Chesterfield Street and told his father that he understood that he had got an English Mozart in the house. Samuel showed him his oratorio. His verdict, after careful examination, was very flattering: "These airs are some of the prettiest I have seen; the boy writes by nature as true a bass as I can by rule and study." These two gifted brothers gave a series of concerts in their

father's house in Chesterfield Street which were attended by the Bishop of London, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Barrington, Lord and Lady De Spencer, the Danish and Saxon ambassadors, and many others. Samuel Wesley died in 1837.



FROM THE PAINTING BY RUSSELL, 1771

CHARLES WESLEY, JR.

Among his sons were the Rev. Dr. Wesley, subdean of the Chapels Royal, and Samuel Sebastian Wesley, organist of Gloucester Cathedral. The latter inherited his father's power of fugal extemporization, and supplied a connecting link between the old and new schools of English ecclesiastical music.



CHAPTER CXV

The Outposts of the British Isles

IN MONA'S ISLE.—SOME MANX WORTHIES.—FIFTEEN LEAGUES IN A GALE.

—THE ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH.—THE DAIRYMAN'S DAUGHTER.—
A MISSIONARY SQUIRE.

BEFORE the death of Wesley Methodism had touched all the islands that gem the coast of Britain, with the exception of the Shetlands, in the far north of Scotland. Midway between Ireland and the north of England lies the Isle of Man, with a resident population to-day of fifty-five thousand, and visitors who annually number one hundred and thirty thousand. The Manx novelist, Hall Caine, remembers among the old Methodist local preachers "some of the sweetest, purest, truest men that ever walked the world of God."

It was a Liverpool local preacher, John Crook, who preached the first Methodist sermon in the island, in 1775, and the apostolic succession has been well maintained. A Manxman invited John Crook to Douglas; an Irishman entertained him the first day, and a Scotchman sheltered him the next. On the first Sunday evening he preached in a ballroom at Castletown. The next evening the crowd was so great that he was

compelled to address the people in the open air, his hearers holding candles in their hands. The picturesque scene and powerful sermon excited great attention, and next Sunday the lieutenant-governor and the clergymen of the town were



JOHN CROOK.

The apostle of the Isle of Man.

JOSEPH SUTCLIFFE.

Who gathered the first Society in the Scilly Isles.

among Crook's hearers. At Peel the fishermen bade him farewell with tears and blessings.

But opposition had been aroused, and on his second visit from Liverpool John Crook found a notice posted at the quay warning the people against "the hypocritical field preacher who had lately crept in among them to subvert the Church." He read the homilies in every service, to show that he was no iconoclast, but in vain. Nevertheless, Castletown was visited with "overwhelming showers of saving grace." "Many were so convinced of sin as to cry aloud in the disquietude of their hearts; while others rejoiced in God

their Saviour with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Nor was Satan idle. A fiddle was brought to the preaching-house, and the rabble shouted mightily, but nothing could shake the steadiness or divert the attention of the congregation."

The bishop commanded all "rectors, vicars, chaplains, and curates to warn the people against the preaching, and to repel from the Lord's table every such teacher." This delighted the rabble, and Crook suffered much from their stones and clubs. But the governor would not allow the bishop's notice to be read in his own chapel, and his chaplain openly gave Crook the Communion. The governor and his family sat by the gates of their residence, where Crook preached. The society fasted and prayed, the storm passed, and the Church grew strong. Wesley came in 1777 and preached in churchyards, markets, and fields to vast assemblies. Four years later he came again; the hostile bishop was dead, his successor was friendly, and the whole island came under the influence of the Revival.

"The natives," wrote Wesley, "are a plain, artless, simple people; unpolished—that is, unpolluted; few of them are rich or genteel; the far greater part moderately poor; and most of the strangers that settle among them are men that have seen affliction. The local preachers are men of faith and love, knit together in one mind and one judgment. They speak either Manx or English, and follow a regular plan which the assistant gives them monthly. The isle is supposed to have thirty thousand inhabitants. Allowing half of them to be adults, and our societies to contain one or two-and-twenty hundred members, what a fair proportion is this! What has been seen like this in any part either of Great Britain or Ireland?" At his death there were two thousand

five hundred Methodists on the island. John Crook entered the ranks of the itinerancy.

A recent writer, Corlett Cowell, describing the island before the invasion of the excursionists, says: "Nothing was more remarkable than the way in which the Sabbath was kept. It was a delightsome day, truly 'the bridal of the earth and sky." No clatter of vehicles was heard; no fishing boat put to sea. A bay alive with shoals of herring or mackerel could not tempt the hardy, bronzed fellows, who were half fishermen and half farmers, to grasp an oar or shoot a net. The tidy lugger-rigged craft might be seen on Saturday making for harbor that they might rest with furled sails beside the ancient quays on the Lord's day, and permit their crews to join in Christian worship in church or chapel—chiefly chapel.

"Even when Sabbath observance became somewhat less strict in certain parts of the island, as visitors began to pour in some forty years ago, a party that had driven to Ramsay were trying to induce some boatmen to let them a boat for hire, and employing the argument that they could get a boat in another town, and why not there? were answered by a bluff sailor, 'Why? Because we are sixteen miles nearer heaven here.' The blend of the Icelander with the Celt, which is peculiar to Mona, has resulted in a temperament in which, in religious worship, fervor of white heat is subdued by the highest reverence. The Methodist chapels in town and country were well filled, and the solemnity of the service was illumined and gladdened by holy song, for the Manx are a musical race."

"Mr. Hall Caine," says the Methodist Manxman, "loves his native island, has a keen eye for character and characters, employs ethical balances that are perfectly true, and his

genius and high purpose are unquestionable; but he does not understand how deep and pure and sweet was much of the piety of the old Manx Methodist worthies. Seeing from the outside mainly or wholly, alive to superficial faults and the blemishes which have their roots in ancient superstitions and hereditary tendencies, he has never pierced to the heart of the religion of his countrymen."

Much more true is the picture given by William Kinnish, in his Mona's Isle and Other Poems, of the gray-haired sire of the Methodist family around whom children's children gathered "with reverence profound, to hear his wisdom and his pious lore:" of the mother who "spun the fibered flax," and taught her boys the lofty lessons and "heavenly law" of noble living. William Kinnish was one of the men whose characters were molded by Methodism. He developed remarkable inventive genius as a naval engineer. After many years of service in the British navy he entered the service of the United States. Among other things he made the first survey of the Isthmus of Panama for the United States government, with a view to the construction of a canal. His poems, written when he was about fifty years of age, show that he was a profoundly religious man, and often he attributes his godliness to

That heavenly law
That was established in my youthful heart
And nurtured 'neath a parent's watchful eye
Whose care was to prepare me for the sky.

The Scilly Isles lie off the coast of Cornwall. As early as 1743 Wesley paid them a flying visit, accompanied by John Nelson. "It seemed strange to me," he writes, "to attempt going in a fisher boat fifteen leagues upon the main ocean, especially when the waves began to swell and hang over our

heads. But we all joined in singing lustily, and with a good courage:

When passing through the watery deep I ask in faith his promised aid; The waves an awful distance keep.
And shrink from my devoted head; Fearless their violence I dare: They cannot harm—for God is there.

About half an hour after one we landed on St. Mary's. We immediately waited upon the governor with the usual present, namely, a newspaper. I desired him, likewise, to accept of an Earnest Appeal. The minister not being willing I should preach in the church, I preached at six, in the street, to almost all the town and many soldiers, sailors, and workmen, on 'Why will ye die, O house of Israel?' It was a blessed time, so that I scarce knew how to conclude. After sermon I gave them some little books and hymns, which they were so eager to receive that they were ready to tear both them and me to pieces."

In 1788 Joseph Sutcliffe, then stationed at St. Ives, was told by a Cornish Methodist that his men had agreed to forego a night's fishing in order to take the minister to the islands, where the people were hungering for the word. So Mr. Sutcliffe embarked, and preached there from the steps of an inn, and afterward in the church and courthouse. He made a deep impression by his holy life and self-denying labors, and on his third visit formed a society of thirty members. Joseph Sutcliffe became known as a devotional commentator, and was preeminent for "sociable, serviceable sainthood." In later years "a deep and mellow luster glowed upon his face, as of a calm autumnal eventide."

The Isle of Wight, in the English Channel, is now well known as "the garden of England" and the residence of royalty. Wesley formed a society there in 1753. An unnamed Methodist preacher had been before him. He preached in the market place at Newport on this and subsequent occasions. In 1782 he writes, "This place seems now ripe for the Gospel; opposition is at an end." The opposition had taken the form of bell-ringing, drum and kettle beating, rotten egg, stick, and stone throwing; sparrows flying among



ARRETON CHURCHYARD.

Where the "dairyman's daughter" was buried.

the candles; a covering for the chimney pot and a fastening on the door, to stifle and imprison the worshipers. But they survived the stoning and smoking.

Among Wesley's hearers and converts was Robert Wall-bridge, who became a Methodist local preacher. Elizabeth Wallbridge, his sister, was now a light-haired, ruddy-faced, and merry-hearted girl of twelve. Of scholastic learning she had a slender share, and had to earn her bread as a household

servant. She had a high flow of spirits, vanity, and ready wit, and was inordinately fond of dress. She was converted under the ministry of James Crabbe, a Methodist preacher, and became a Methodist herself. She died in the year 1801. The Rev. Legh Richmond, the curate of Arreton, visited her in her last moments, and afterward wrote her life, with the title of The Dairyman's Daughter, omitting to state, however, that his heroine was a Methodist. Her life, obscure in itself, has become historical in its results. Her memoir has been translated into thirty languages, and circulated by millions, and forty years ago it was known to have been the means of the conversion of three hundred and fifty persons. No history of Methodism would be complete which did not contain some reference to this girl-saint, the type of multitudes who have witnessed to the lofty mission of Methodism among the lowly. Her biographer will come before us again in our account of the later evangelical clergy.

The Channel Islands, off the coast of France, are the only remnants of the French dominions of the English crown. They include Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark. Pierre le Sueur, a native of Jersey, first brought the holy fire of the Revival from Newfoundland, where on a journey he had been awakened by the preaching of Lawrence Caughland, a missionary friend of Wesley and Lady Huntingdon. Another convert from Newfoundland, John Fentin, guided Le Sueur and his wife into the way of peace; twelve more united with them in fellowship, and the visit of a good sea captain, with some soldiers who had been converted under Captain Webb, confirmed them in the faith.

Their united appeal for a preacher reached Wesley, as we have seen, in 1783, and Robert Carr Brackenbury, the noble squire of Raithby Hall, Lincolnshire, devoted his strength

and his fortune to the evangelization of the islands—beginning at Jersey. Although his name was on the Minutes, he



The missionary squire.

was not a minister, and his dying request that he might not be the subject of human panegyric was characteristic of this devoted and useful squire. Montgomery wrote the following lines for his tablet:

Silent be human praise!
The solemn charge was thine;
Which widowed love obeys,
And on thy lowly shrine
Inscribes the monumental stone
With "Glory be to God alone!"

Dr. Coke, accompanied by Jean de Queteville, a converted

Jersey farmer, whom he afterward ordained, visited Guernsey in 1785. They were welcomed by Jean Mahy, the first local preacher in the island. Dr. Coke organized a society, ordained Jean Mahy, and thus gave an impetus to the spiritual work which has supplied a succession of men for missionary work in France. We shall meet with De Queteville again in our record of Adam Clarke's work in the islands. Brackenbury compiled the first French hymn book, and in 1795 De Queteville translated some of Wesley's hymns into French. Some of these in a revised form are retained in the later hymn books now used by the three thousand eight hundred church members.

Methodism had now reached the outposts of the British islands, and Dr. Coke was evolving his great scheme for the evangelization of the world.



CHAPTER CXVI

The Father of Methodist Missions

AT JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD,—CHIMING OUT THE CURATE,—LIQUID ARTILLERY,—THE FATHER OF METHODIST MISSIONS,—THE FIRST MISSIONARY CIRCULAR.—A PROVIDENTIAL STORM.—THE WEST INDIES AND THE CASTAWAY MISSIONARIES,—COAXING A CAPTAIN.—WINNING A WIFE.

HE name of Dr. Thomas Coke has already come to the front in our account of Wesley's ordinations and the genesis of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, and he alone has such relations to all three of the sections of this history that his name must figure conspicuously in them all. The world was his parish in a more literal sense than in the case even of Wesley himself.

Thomas Coke was born at Brecon, Wales, in 1747. His father was a medical man and chief magistrate, the beloved and honored patriarch of his borough, as his epitaph in the priory church tells. Thomas was a small boy, and, like the Wesleys, never attained average stature; but he was bright, vivacious, comely, with shining black eyes, a brow as white as alabaster, rosy cheeks, and black clustering curls. From the local grammar school he was entered at sixteen as a gentleman commoner at Jesus College, Oxford. Henry Vaughan,

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"the Silurist" religious poet; James Usher, the learned Archbishop of Armagh; Charles "of Bala," the organizer of the Calvinistic Methodist Churches and one of the fathers of the Bible societies, and in our own day John Richard Green, the historian, have brought glory to the college where the father of Methodist missions took his degrees of B.A., M.A., and LL.D.

But Thomas Coke found his college a sorry school of faith and of morals. The expulsion of the Methodist students had not elevated the tone of the university. The vice chancellor attained his end in banishing students who dared "to pray extempore;" but, as Bishop Ryle remarks, "to swear extempore brought an Oxford student into no trouble." At midnight revels, Coke told a friend in after years, he frequently witnessed scenes of depravity which were not to be described. Southey, who was at Balliol later in the century, wrote in a letter of "a flagitious state of morals." "Temperance," says he, "is much wanted; the waters of Helicon are far too much polluted by the wine of Bacchus ever to produce any effect. With respect to its superiors, Oxford only exhibits waste of wigs and want of wisdom; with respect to undergraduates, every species of abandoned excess. As for me, I regard myself too much to run into the vice so common and destructive. I have not yet been drunk, nor mean to be so. . . . Never shall child of mine enter a public school or university. Perhaps I may not be able so well to instruct him in logic or languages, but I can at least preserve him from vice."

Coke was well-nigh caught in the maelstrom of utter infidelity. Drifting from the faith of his parents, and distressed in his soul, he one day heard a sermon which touched him and appeared to promise a friend in the preacher. So he opened his mind to the clergyman. He was appalled to find his seriousness treated with levity, and to be told by the clergyman himself that the sermon was only official; that he, the preacher, did not believe a word of it. "Is that whither infidelity leads?" mused honest young Coke. "Then the sooner I have done with it the better." After taking his degree of B.A. he returned to Brecon and became mayor of his native town.

When he was ordained priest, at Abergwilly in 1772, he heard the music of the solemn invocation,

Come, Holy Ghost, Creator, come, Inspire these souls of thine, Till every heart which thou hast made Is filled with grace divine,

but he was conscious that he did not possess the peace and joy of the indwelling Spirit. Becoming curate of South Petherton, Devon, he earnestly sought fitness for his work, conversed with Thomas Maxfield, one of Wesley's early lay preachers and now a clergyman, and found a true friend in a laboring man who was a class leader. The curate and his ministry were transformed, and in conducting a cottage service he found the love of God shed abroad in his heart. His preaching now attracted multitudes to the church. When the vestry refused to erect a new gallery he built one at his own expense, for he possessed an ample fortune. He read Wesley's Sermons and Fletcher's Checks, and at last met Wesley himself, having ridden twenty miles to obtain the interview. Wesley advised him to remain in his curacy for the present, "doing all the good he could, visiting from house to house, omitting no part of his elerical duty, and avoiding every reasonable ground of offense."

But the curate's awakening ministry drew upon him the wrath of some influential parishioners. As the bishop re-

fused to interfere they besieged the vicar, and persuaded the timid man to announce at the close of a service that the curate was dismissed. Then, in high glee, they ordered a discordant peal to be rung from the tower, and to this rough music the curate left the church. He preached his farewell sermon in the open air to a vast crowd, who protected him from the stones of a hired mob. Years after he revisited South Petherton. The people had missed his faithful preaching, the poor his bounty, and the troubled his sympathy. Even the parochial magnates had relented, and gave permission for a peal of welcome on the church bells. "We chimed him out," said they, "now we'll ring him in."

Dr. Coke joined Wesley at the Conference of 1777, where he met Fletcher. "This fanned the spark already glowing in his soul" In his thirtieth year he went to London, preaching at the Foundry, West Street Chapel, and in the fields. Thus he became Wesley's right-hand man; and Thomas Jackson tells us that Wesley often observed that Coke was to him a second Thomas Walsh. In promoting the settlement of chapels, and in preparing the Deed of Declaration, as we have noted, he was able to render most valuable service.

He suffered his share of the mob violence which still continued in some parts of the country when the Methodists appeared on new ground. Under the old wych-elm, in the village of Ramsbury, Wilts, as he stood up to preach, a mob, headed by the vicar of the parish, assailed him with sticks and stones, tearing his gown in shreds. Nothing daunted he continued the service. "Bring out the fire engine," called the vicar; and before the "well-directed fire of this liquid artillery" the preacher and his congregation were compelled to retire. As he left the village Coke turned and remarked to the people that there were other uses for the fire engine,

as Providence might some day teach the leaders of the outrage. "False prophet!" they shrieked. But within a fortnight, to their horror, a fire did break out which destroyed a large part of the village street. Some farmers' sons, who had been astonished by the courage and patience of the preacher, and had shielded him from worse violence, were converted, became members of a society, class leaders, and local preachers, and succeeded in planting Methodist churches in several of the country places in the Salisbury Circuit.

In the eventful year 1784 Dr. Coke not only assisted Wesley in framing the Deed of Declaration, and became the first bishop of the American Methodist societies, but he presided for the third time over the Irish Conference, which was gratified by the enrollment of the names of eleven Irish preachers on Wesley's Deed Poll. For many years Dr. Coke presided in Ireland at the Conferences. He organized the missions for the evangelization of the peasantry by means of their native tongue, and one of his first missionaries was the famous Gideon Ouseley.

In the same year Dr. Coke entered upon the work which won for him the high distinction of being "the father of Methodist foreign missions." Although the organization of the Missionary Society was not completed until 1818, it must never be forgotten that the society "was the legatee of the herculean toils, the princely liberality, and the heroic enterprise of Thomas Coke." "He was a good and noble man," says Gregory, "who devoted three fortunes and all his time, faculties, and energies to the extension of the kingdom of God; crossing the Atlantic on that behoof eighteen times, before steam was applied to locomotion, and traversing England, Wales, Ireland, and the United States, preaching and organizing, and begging and dispensing thousands of pounds.

His labors and achievements were such as skeptical criticism will pronounce mythical, should skeptical criticism survive two hundred years."

He issued a Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathens, of which we give a facsimile. The name of Fletcher of Madeley appears in the list of subscribers printed on the second page, and we reproduce a letter in Coke's handwriting which accompanied a copy of the circular which he sent to Fletcher. The first meeting of the committee was held on the last Tuesday in January, 1784, in West Street Chapel.

Dr. Coke set his heart upon a mission to the East, but so many doors were opening nearer home that in 1786 he says, "Mr. Wesley thinks it imprudent at present to attempt this, when so large a field of action is afforded us in the countries to which we have so much easier admittance." Thus Coke anticipated Carey in his scheme for a mission to India.

In William Carey's Inquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, which was published in 1792, he says, "The late Mr. Wesley made an effort in the West Indies, and some of their ministers are now laboring among the Caribs and negroes, and I have seen pleasing accounts of their success." In a document of 1786 Coke reports the great success of Methodism in Antigua, where the noble layman, Nathaniel Gilbert, speaker of the House of Assembly, had been at work. After Mr. Gilbert's death two negro slaves kept the society together until, in 1778, John Baxter, a local preacher, came to the island. In 1786 Coke reports that eleven hundred negroes were members of the Methodist societies. On Christmas Day in the same year, as John Baxter was on his way to preach in the rude chapel which he had built chiefly with his own hands,

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Establishment of Millions among the Heathens.

L. EVERY Perfor who fublicibes Two Guineas yearly, or more, is to be admitted a Member of the Society. II. A General Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held annually, onthe last Tuesday in January.

III. The first General Meeting shall be held on the last Tuesday in January, 1784, at No. 11. West-street, near the Seven Dials, London, ar Three o'Clock in the Asternoon.

IV. At every General Meeting a Committee of Seven, or more, thall be chosen by the Majority of the Subscribers, to transact the Business of the Society for the entuing Year.

VI. The Committee, or the Mijority of them, fall have Power, Firft, To call in the Sums this first plant thereof, and to receive all Collections, Legacies, or other solution. Contributions. Secondly, To agree with anyther, fall approve, who may offer on go abond, either as Miffionaties, or in any Crui Employment. Thirdly, To procure the best Instruction shick can be obtained for their Perform, in the Language of the Country for which they are intended by before they go abroad. Fourthly, to provide for their Expences, in going and continuing abroad, and for their return Hones, after facts Time, and under fach Cremmitments, as may be thought most for specifically. To print the Scriptures, or for much thereof, as the Funds of the Society may admit, for the Ufe of any Heathan Country. And, Sixthly, to do every other Act which to them may appear necessary, to far as the common Stock of the Society will allow, for carrying the Delige of the Society may be found for the Society may be support necessary. V. The General Meeting thall receive and examine the Accounts of the Committee for the preceding Year, of all Sums paid to the Ufe of the Society, of the Purpofes to which the Whole, or
any Part thereof, thall have been applied, and also the Report of all they have done, and the Advices they have received.

VII. The Committee thall keep an Account of the Subferibert Names, and all Sums received for the Use of the Society, together with fuch Extracts of the Extries of their Proceedings and Advices, as may five those those are concerned, all that has been done both at Home and Abroads which State thall be figured by at leaft Three of the Committee.

of the Society into Execution.

all the Members of the Society who were not prefent at the preceding General Meeting, and (free of Pottage) to every Clergyman, Miritler, or other Perion, from whom any Collection, Legacy, or other Benefaction, that have been received, within the Time concerning which the Report is VIII. The Committee for the New Year shall send a Copy of the Report for the past Year, to

IX. The Committee, if they feeir necessary, shall have Power to choose a Secretary.

X. The Committee final at no Time have any Claim on the Members of the Society, for any Sum which may exceed the common Stock of the Society.

weight to strend, are defined to favour the General Meeting by Letter (according to the above Direction) with any important Remarks which may occur to them on the Baffacé, that the Sair-ferribust perform may be affined as far as possible, in feetling the Rules of the Society to the Sair-ferribust performance. taction of all concerned. N. B. Thole who subscribe before the first General Meeting, and to whom it may not be con-

We have been already favoured with the Names of the following Subscribers, viz.

Mr. Rofe, of Dorking,
Mr. Horon, of London,
Mr. Ryley, of dirto
Mr. Ryley, of dirto
Mr. Riddfales, of dirto
Mr. Lys, of dirto
Mr. Lys, of dirto
Mr. Jay, of dirto
Mr. Jaysey, of diro,
Mr. Dewey, of diro,
Mr. Dewey, of diro,
Mr. Jaques, of Bath,
Mr. Jaques, of Wallingford,
Mr. Bating, of High Wirkhum
Mr. Jaques, of Wallingford,
Mr. Bating, of Wallingford,
Mr. Bating, of Wallingford,
Mr. Jaques, of Wallingford,
Mr. Jaques Rev. Mr. Bickerstaff, of Leicester, 2 DR. COKE, Rev.Mr. Simpson, Maccles the life of Wight, To all the Real Lovers of Mankind. 2 2 0 000 0000 Mís Eliza Johnfon, of Brifol,
Mr. Barron, of the Ifle of Wight,
Mr. Henry Brooke, of Dublin,
Mr. Henry Brooke, of Dublin,
Mafter and Miss Blathford, of do. 4
Mrs. Kirkover, of ditro,
Mr. Smith, Ruffia Merchant, of Mr. D'Olier, of Dublin,

Mrs. Smyth, of ditto,

The Rev. Mr. Fletcher, of Madeley, 2 occasional Subferiber, Mrs. King, of Dublin, Mr. Houlton, of London, an Mifs Salmon, London, TO TO O 5 5 0 2 2 0

zerbon, mod devozed, and felf-devying Kind; not it any thing more required to conflutue a Millonary for the Heathen Millonary, than good Sonds, Integraty, great Petry, and amazing Zeal. Millonary for the Heathen Millonary, than good Sonds, Integraty, great Petry, and amazing Zeal. Millonary for the Medicing all their Qualifications in a high Degree, we have among us, and all doubt not beat Men and in their places of the arthropous Understating not committee their latest dear, if they may but promote the Kingdom of Chrift, and the prefers and seemal Welfare of their Fellow Creatures: THE prefeat Infinition is to agreeable to the fined Feelings of Fivey and Renevolence, that little and receive added for its Recommendation. The Candid, of every Denomination, (even this who are entirely unconnected with the Methodith, and are determined to to be) will asknowledge the amazing Chinge, which our Freeding has wrought upon the Ignorate and uncivilized a test throughout rate? Minions; and shey will admit that the Spirite of a Millionary must be of the most throughout rated withins; and when yell admit that the Spirite of a Millionary must be of the most And we trust, bothing shall be wanting, as far as Time, Strength, and Abilities, will admit, to give the fullest and highest Saussection to the Promoters of the Plan, on the part of Your devoted Servants,

THOMAS PARKER THOMAS COKE

Those who are willing to promote the Inflictation, are defined to fend their Nanes, Places of Abode, and Sunes inhibitations, to the New, Dr. Coke, in London, or Thomas Parker, Eq. Barriller at Law, in York

he unexpectedly met four weather-beaten travelers who had just landed from a half-wrecked vessel. One of the four was Dr. Coke himself. Three months before he had set sail, with three missionaries, for Nova Scotia, but storms drove the vessel

my very dear fir

near Phymoutt, Jan. 6. 1782.

Lest M. Tarker sh? neglect to sen you one of our Plans for the establishing of Torrigh Missions, I take the Liberty of doing it. Ten subscribes more, of too Guineas p. ann. have favoured one with their names. If you can get a few Subscribes more, we shall be shiped to you.

We have now a very vonderful outpouring of the spirit in the West of Corneall. I have been obliged to make a Winter-Campaign of it. .. I preach here of there out of Doors

I by my affectionate Respects to m? Tletcher. intorest you to pray for

your most affectionate Friend & Brother Thomas loke

FACSIMILE OF COKE'S LETTER TO FLETCHER, 1784.

from its course and it drifted to the West Indies. The stormbeaten traveler was soon in the pulpit preaching with wonderful energy to one of the "cleanest" audiences he ever saw. There was no resisting the importunate people, and the three missionaries, Warrener, Hammet, and Clarke, remained in the West Indies. William Warrener, who had been ordained by Wesley, took charge of Antigua, to the great delight of brave John Baxter. Warrener lived to take part in the first missionary meeting of British Methodism, held at Leeds in 1813, when he thrilled his audience with his stories of the suffering and the heroism of the Methodist slaves.

Between his first and second voyages to America, as we have noted, Dr. Coke visited the Channel Islands. He saw

what history has proved, that they offered a key to missionary work in France.

We cannot follow in detail the career of this missionary Greatheart. The record of his transatlantic work belongs to our American chapters, and the pathetic story of his death on the way to Ceylon must be told later. Like Wesley, he maintained his habits of reading throughout life. On his first voyage we find



FROM THE ENGRAVING BY RIDLEY.

WILLIAM WARRENER.

The first missionary to Antigua.

him entranced by a copy of Spenser's poems, for which he had given twenty shillings. "With such company," he says, "I think I could live comfortably in a tub." He loaded his carriage with books for his English pilgrimages. His administration was sometimes faulty; his zeal sometimes outran his discretion; he did not fully appreciate the difficulties of his American brethren in dealing with the question of slavery; but his faults were those of an impulsive, large-hearted, unworldly man.

There was no resisting his personal appeals for help for his missions.

- "Pray, sir," said a captain of a man-of-war to a gentleman at Plymouth, "do you know anything of a little fellow who calls himself Dr. Coke, and who is going about begging money for missionaries to be sent among the slaves?"
 - "I know him well," was the reply.
- "He seems," rejoined the captain, "to be a heavenly minded little devil; he coaxed me out of two guineas this morning."

In looking for missionary funds Dr. Coke found an estimable wife. In 1805 Mr. Pawson introduced him to a lady at Bristol who promised him £100 if he would call on her at Bradford, Wilts. When he called she gave him £200, and the friendship then formed resulted in their happy marriage. The devoted couple journeyed together, residing almost for four years in a great traveling carriage laden with the doctor's books and documents. After Wesley's death we shall find him twice president of the British Conference.







CHAPTER CXVII

A Polyglot from Patrick's Isle

THE DUNCE OF MOYBEG SCHOOL,—A REGNANT WILL AND BRAIN.— "THIS IS THE DOCTRINE OF THE REFORMERS,"-ADAM CLARKE AT KINGSWOOD SCHOOL,-IN THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION,-ADVEN-TURES IN THE NORMAN ISLES.

FEEL a simple heart; the prayers of my childhood are yet precious to me, and the simple hymns which I sang when a child I sing now with unction and delight." So wrote Dr. Adam Clarke seven weeks before his death, when he had become famous in Church and State for his genius and learning.

His father was the schoolmaster of Movbeg, in Ulster, Ireland; a stalwart, grave Master of Arts of Glasgow University, who eked out his scanty living by farming the family acres. About 1767, when Adam was seven years old, the land fell into the hands of strangers. "I well remember," he said in after years, "the time when the last farm went out of the family, and our ancient boast was lost forever. The weeping and wailing that morning . . . still live in my remembrance. We neither fared sumptuously every day nor was our clothing purple and fine linen." Adam worked hard in the fields as well as in his father's school, and at twelve was set to guide the plow. He was skillful at sheep-shearing and peat cutting, and could swim like a fish.

But at learning Adam Clarke was pronounced to be a grievous dunce. His father was thoroughly disappointed. Lilly's Latin Grammar, with its appalling definitions, drove the lad to despair. In vain the master threatened, "If you do not



ADAM CLARKE, AGE 27.

ADAM CLARKE, AGE 33.

speedily get that lesson, I shall pull your ears as long as Jowler's [the farm dog], and you shall be a beggar till the day of your death."

One day, as a gentleman was inspecting the school, Adam's teacher pointed to his boy and remarked, "That is a grievous dunce; I'm afraid we will make nothing of him." The kind visitor saw distress in Adam's face, and, patting him on the head, said encouragingly, "Never fear, sir; this lad will make a good scholar yet." Despair fled, and hope sprang up in Adam's heart.

Shortly after, distressed beyond endurance by the taunts and ridicule of the lads around him, he said to himself, "What! shall I ever be a dunce and the butt of my school-fellows' insults?" He took up his book and learned lesson after lesson, till the master was wearied by his repeated returns to recite. He says, "I felt as if something had broken within me."

From this time he made rapid progress, though he tells us that he always "found an initial difficulty to comprehend anything" until he could grasp "the reason." His mother was a Presbyterian, and for her religious teachings he tells us he had "endless reasons to bless his Maker." To her theological training he always attributed that fear of the divine majesty which kept him from taking pleasure in sin. But neither mother nor son had as yet any conception of the peace and joy of the Spirit. One day, however, they heard that there was to be a preaching at a neighboring barn. Adam went, and for the first time set eyes on a Methodist preacher—a tall, thin man, with a serious countenance and long hair. This was John Brettell, whose labors and those of his successor, Thomas Barber, were greatly blessed in that part of Ireland. Mrs. Clarke was induced to attend the preaching, and at once affirmed, "This is the doctrine of the Reformers; this is true and unadulterated Christianity." She opened her house for the preachers and joined the newly formed society. Adam was for some time in great distress of soul. One morning he had gone out to his work in the field, but could not proceed on account of his intense anguish. He knelt and prayed, then rose and tried to go on with his work, but both mental and physical strength had deserted him: he could neither believe nor plow. After prolonged agony, as he tells us in his autobiography, he "felt strongly

in his soul, 'Pray to Christ;' another word for 'Come to the Holiest through the blood of Jesus.'" He looked up confidently to the Saviour of sinners. His agony subsided; his soul became calm. A glow of happiness thrilled through his frame; all guilt and condemnation were gone, and he gained an experience which helped him greatly in his future ministry.

He joined the Methodist society, and in later years he wrote: "I have been a traveling preacher for twenty-four years, and yet I feel the class meeting as necessary as when I first began. I meet regularly once a week. I find it a great privilege to forget that I am a preacher and come with a simple heart to receive instruction from my leader." To a captain in the navy, a member of the Philosophical Society, he wrote, "Use every means of grace, and do not neglect your class." One man whom he took to task for nonattendance declared he could not go while a certain person attended, whom he named.

- "I have been to class when a worse than he was there," said Adam.
 - "Never!" exclaimed the man.
- "But I have," Adam insisted; "I have been to class when the devil was there; but God was there too, and he is greater than the devil."

He held that without the class meeting Methodism would have been a rope of sand.

His conversion quickened his interest in Bible study, and he commenced to address village meetings. In 1782 John Bredin, the preacher of the Londonderry Circuit, wrote to John Wesley about him, believing that he was called to the work of the ministry. Wesley, ever alert, offered to take him into Kingswood School. The shabbily clad youth reached

Kingswood with a Bible, Concordance, Prideaux's Connection, Young's Night Thoughts, a Greek Testament, and three halfpence in cash. The head master and his wife were not pre-



THOMAS SIMPSON, A.M.

Master of Kingswood School when Adam
Clarke was a pupil.

JOHN BREDIN.

The superintendent who wrote to Wesley in praise of Adam Clarke.

possessed with his appearance, and after repeated grumblings, and mutterings that Kingswood was not meant for such as he, Adam was banished to a cheerless room and kept on poor fare until Wesley, who was absent for a fortnight, should return. Clarke compared the master's wife to a Bengal tiger. "She was probably very clever," says he; "all stood in awe of her. For my own part, I feared her more than I feared Satan himself." He came into conflict with her by refusing to drink her health when he was admitted to the household table; but he tells us he "preserved a whole conscience at the expense of a dry stomach." Digging one day in the garden, he found a half guinea, and, Mr. Simpson refusing to

receive it, he bought with it a much-coveted Hebrew grammar. At last Wesley returned to Bristol, and Adam tells the story of the eventful interview:

"I went into Bristol, saw Mr. Rankin, who took me to Mr. Wesley's study, off the great lobby of the rooms over the chapel in Broadmead. He tapped at the door, which was opened by this truly apostolic man. Mr. Rankin retired.



JOHN WESLEY'S STUDY, BRISTOL.

Here Adam Clarke first met Wesley (1782).

Mr. Wesley took me kindly by the hand, and asked me how long since I had left Ireland. Our conversation was short. He said, 'Well, Brother Clarke, do you wish to devote yourself entirely to the work of God?' I answered, 'Sir, I wish to do and be what God pleases.'

He then said: 'We want a preacher for Bradford, in Wiltshire; hold yourself in readiness to go there. I am going into the country, and will let you know when you shall go.' He then turned to me, laid his hands upon my head, and spent a few moments in praying to God to bless and preserve me and to give me success in the work to which I was called. I departed, having now received, in addition to my appointment from God to preach his Gospel, the only authority I could have from man in that line in which I was to exercise the ministry of the divine word." He heard Mr. Wesley preach the same evening, and two days afterward saw

Mr. Charles Wesley. On September 26 he received instructions to repair to his first circuit, which covered three counties—Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset.

He was a gaunt, plain-featured youth of five feet ten, in seedy long coat with brass buttons, short breeches tied below the knees, and painfully conscious of his unprepossessing appearance. But he soon became famous as "the boy preacher," and there was a light in his eyes and a resolute, refined expression in his face when he was preaching which told of intellectual and spiritual fires within.

In Cornwall he was the instrument in the conversion of Samuel Drew, of St. Austell, the young shoemaker who became one of the greatest metaphysicians of his day, and who never forgot the scene when the young preacher was compelled to get in through one of the windows of the crowded chapel, "borne along upon the hands and heads of the people, without touching the floor, until he was safely landed in the pulpit." Clarke rode two hundred and sixty miles in the saddle every three weeks, slept in a "pestiferous room" where a preacher lay ill of a fever, studied the stars through the chinks of wretched hovels, carried a hammer, a sheet of brown paper, and tacks to nail up the holes through which the frosty wind and snow came in, and was "passing rich" on £12 a year.

Adam Clarke's knowledge of French led to his appointment to the Channel Islands in 1786. At Guernsey he found a delightful retreat with a family in the Mon Plaisir farmhouse, and here also Jean de Queteville, the first French minister, found a wife in a lady who was the first class leader of the French society.

De Queteville was a valiant missionary. "A sort of pagan," said a good farmer, when asked what he thought of the Meth-

odist; others did not say much, but set to work to drive away this heretic. In 1787, as Jean de Queteville was going to preach in the kitchen of M. Pierre Ogier, of the Ville Beaudu—a right good Methodist house to this day—he was met by a



MON PLAISIR, ISLAND OF GUERNSEY,

party of valiant men, armed with guns and bottles of brandy, waiting for the preacher. They surrounded him and dragged him through the stones and slime of what was then a piece of seashore, the Braie du Valle, and pushing, pulling, pinching, striking, and shouting, they brought him to a deep ditch of running water. "We shall let you go if you promise not

to come again; if not, in you go." "Do as you like," said the preacher, "but I hope to be soon back again." A gentleman came that way and scolded the persecutors away. But it was many years before that petty sort of mob tyranny ceased in the island. De Queteville was once taken before the bailiff, or chief judge, in the old courthouse, and accused by a woman of making her husband mad by causing him to pray and weep about his sins!

When Adam Clarke went to Jersey he soon became a power in the parish, and the parish priest decided to stop that. The mayor of the parish lent his influence, and one day the little meeting room was surrounded by a crowd of roughs who this time had the police force on their side. Adam Clarke, finding that the place was untenable, walked out at the head of his little flock, and the rioters made way for them with the submission that true courage always secures in such cases. The rioters vented their rage on the store, and gutted it.

But Adam Clarke was not to be balked; he began open-air services on the quay. Then the chief of the police came with a drummer and a crowd and led away the preacher to the tune of the "Rogue's March," the crowd beating time on the shoulders of Adam Clarke, who felt the physical consequences of the affray for several weeks, but did not give up preaching in St. Aubyn's. The rioters had a very curious theological and ecclesiastical motto that tells its own story:

A tout pêcheur misericorde, A tout Methodiste la corde.

(Mercy for every sinner; a rope for every Methodist.)

An attack of illness left Adam Clarke, as he says, "little else (considered abstractly from my spirit) than a quantity of bones and sinews wrapped up in none of the best colored skins." But he found opportunities for study, and was de-

lighted to discover Walton's Polyglot in the public library at Jersey. He acquired knowledge of Syriac and Chaldee and of the Samaritan alphabet. Some unknown friend sent him £10 to buy a copy of Walton, and to this timely act of kindness and his previous discovery of the half guinea, devoted



JEAN DE QUETEVILLE.

THE DE QUETEVILLE HOMESTEAD.

THE CHAPEL AT ST. AUBYN'S.

at Dublin, he entered himself as a student in Trinity College, and attended lectures on medicine, anatomy, and chemistry. His knowledge of Arabic and Spanish attracted the attention of a Müssulman, Ibrahim ben Ali, and he had the joy of instructing this Turkish janizary in Christian truth and translating the service into Spanish for his baptism.

His marriage brought him the help of a wife who for half a century was "the light of his eyes." She trained a family of six boys and six girls, and yet found time to transcribe her husband's manuscripts for the press.



CHAPTER CXVIII

Some Typical Irishmen

IN THE YEAR OF GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT.—WESLEY'S LOVE FOR IRE-LAND.—THE MUSTER ROLL OF ERIN'S HEROES.—THE ADVENTURES AND CONVERSION OF MATTHIAS JOYCE.—THE MISSION OF METHO-DISM TO THE PRODIGAL.—A GROUP OF HIBERNIAN PRESIDENTS.— THE FRIEND AND BIOGRAPHER OF WESLEY.

AM now to address a free people," said Henry Grattan, the great Irish patriot and orator, in his famous speech of 1782 in the Parliament at Dublin. A few months later the Irish Parliament became independent and was free to make any law it pleased for Ireland. It did not realize the patriotic dreams of its founder. It was defective in its representation of the people, and was dominated by corrupt lords and powerful landowners, who commonly sold the seats for cash at election times. Rents remained exorbitant; landlords still encroached upon the commons of the impoverished and uneducated peasantry. Smoldering discontent revived the secret oath-bound societies which aimed at the redress of grievances by force. There were "White Boys" in the south, "Peep-o'-day Boys" in the north, and "Defenders" up and down the land, who passed beyond their original functions and often committed terrible cruelties.

In the memorable year of Grattan's first Parliament, as we

have seen, the first regularly constituted Methodist Conference was held, with Dr. Coke as president. Through the stormy years of the closing century Wesley's itinerants pursued their work of philanthropy and peace, often suffering severely at the hands of contending factions, but ever dauntless, compassionate, hopeful.

The Wesleys and Dr. Coke had a special love for the Irish people, spending weeks and months at a time in itinerancy among them; and when the London leaders expressed their dissatisfaction at their long absence from the metropolis Wesley uttered his memorable saying, "Have patience, and Ireland will repay you." Dr. Coke, as Stevens observes, "was practically more the bishop of Irish than of American Methodism," presiding at all except four of its Conferences for twenty-two years after the death of Wesley, and "lavishing his money on its suffering preachers and churches."

The most sanguine hopes of Wesley and Coke were early realized. From among the Irish people themselves there sprang up a race of preachers whose names stand high on the muster roll of Methodist heroes. Thomas Walsh and Adam Clarke have passed before us—both scholar-saints and preachers of a lofty type.

Matthias Joyce was an Irishman of another sort. Rollicking, adventurous, mercurial, in early life he became a drunken desperado. The printer to whom he was apprenticed shivered an oaken staff upon his head, but Matthias declared he would not submit to him if he beat him dead. He nearly murdered his master's son with a pair of shears. He ran away to enlist on board a man-of-war, but changed his mind, and, getting drunk, would have killed himself had not the knife been wrested from his hands. He roamed the land with gypsies and joined a company of begging vagabonds, but would not

sing songs for bread, as they did—his pride preferring an empty stomach. Near Chester he fainted from fatigue and hunger, and almost crawled into the city, where a poor man pitied, lodged, and fed him. He sold his waistcoat for three shillings, by the help of a poor woman, who washed his feet and gave him a loaf. At Liverpool he reembarked for Dublin with ten pence in his pocket. A furious storm alarmed the passengers; some attempted to pray, "while I, hardened wretch," he says, "was highly diverted." But the fury of the storm increased until even he was terrified, and he crept upon his knees into a corner to utter "a few heartless petitions."

His master took him back again on a security of £40 from his father's friends. He treated his father cruelly, and his violence toward his fellow-apprentices led his master to horsewhip him. He became a gambler, and a rope ladder was contrived by which he and others who stole the printer's money could descend from a back window to reach a gaming house. Drunkenness brought on pleurisy, but on his recovery he flew again to the bottle. His master pronounced him utterly irreclaimable; "and well he might," says Joyce, "if there were no God, for it was beyond the power of man to turn the stream of my affections."

On a Sunday morning in 1773 Wesley preached in Dublin, and curiosity led this prodigal to go and hear him. "As soon as I saw him," he says, "my heart clave to him; his hoary hairs and grave deportment commanded my respect and gained my affections. What endeared him still more to me was seeing him stoop to kiss a little child that stood on the stairs." But Matthias was so utterly in darkness that he could not at first understand even Wesley's plain language. But he went again to the Methodist meetings and learned

that if he remained a companion of fools he "must inevitably be destroyed." In a few months he was on his knees on the stairs of the printing office calling upon God in prayer. "The Lord God," he says, "appeared in terrible majesty, and Mount Sinai seemed to be in a flame. His voice thundered from the dreadful mount, and spoke in terror to my inmost soul, which made me tremble exceedingly. The Holy Ghost showed me the spirituality of the law in such a manner that I saw and felt my inward parts were very wickedness. For some time I was quite dumb, and wondered that I was so great a monster. O what heart can conceive the exquisite distress of my soul at this moment! I groaned, being burdened with a deep sense of the wrath of God. I saw myself just on the brink of hell. I thought I was undone forever, and despaired of ever being saved."

After many weeks of "heart-piercing convictions," during which he read every book he could lay hold of that explained saving faith, "there came a man from the country, an old professor, who was very fond of encouraging those who were of a doubtful mind," and who, on first seeing the young convert, "took a liking to him." "I believe," said the old Methodist, "you do not doubt that God is able to save you; but you do not believe he is willing." As soon as he uttered these words "the power of God," writes Joyce, "rested upon me in a remarkable manner; all my doubts and fears vanished, and I was filled with faith and love. I could now no more contain, but immediately cried out, 'O yes, I believe he is willing to save me! and I see so much love in his heart toward me that I should be the most ungrateful wretch in the world if I doubted his love any longer." And so a moral miracle was wrought. The highest mission of Methodism was illustrated. The profligate toiled hard, paid his debts, and became a saint, student, and preacher. Ten years later Wesley, having tested his worth as a local preacher, sent him to the Limerick Circuit. For thirty years (1783–1814) he labored, "a man of a remarkably loving and peaceful disposition," said his brethren in their Minutes; "a



REV. WALTER GRIFFITH.

REV. WILLIAM MYLES.

REV. HENRY MOORE.

wise, acceptable, successful preacher . . . an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile."

The first preacher received into full connection by the first Irish Conference (1782) was William Myles, who did useful work as a chronicler of what he calls "the first race of Methodist preachers." He tells us that of two hundred and eighteen preachers no less than one hundred and thirteen

desisted from traveling; not from lack of zeal, but from lack of physical strength to endure the severe labors and privations of the early period. Some of them took charge of Dissenting congregations, and others entered the Established Church. Myles wrote a Chronological History of Methodism, of much value for its accuracy. He accompanied Wesley on some of his journeys, and at a sacramental service at Dublin in 1789 Wesley employed him as an assistant. As Myles was not episcopally ordained, this gave rise to a newspaper controversy. The Dublin Evening Post declared "that the Church was in danger," and called upon the archbishop to use his authority to repress "the greatest innovation that had been witnessed for these fifty years!"

Ireland gave to British Methodism its first Conference president after the death of Wesley, the Conference of 1791. William Thompson was a native of Fermanagh, and became an itinerant preacher in 1757. Atmore tells us that "he shared the general persecution." He was flung into prison, and several of his hearers were taken on board a transport for compulsory man-of-war service. Lady Huntingdon, however, used her influence with the government and the Methodists were liberated. An action was brought against the persecuting clergyman, and if Mr. Thompson himself had not intervened, he would have been reduced to poverty. Brought up in the north of Ireland, Thompson had well studied the system of Presbyterian Church government, and was thus prepared by special knowledge as well as fine qualities of character to render valuable service in organizing the Methodist Church in Great Britain.

Another Irish president was Walter Griffith, who came under the influence of Pilmoor, the comrade of Boardman, of American fame. His native courtesy and charm of man-

ner were united with strength and dignity of character. He was one of a band of young men who began the five o'clock morning prayer meetings in Dublin, which Edmund Grindrod says were "made of God instrumental of eternal good to thousands of immortal spirits." He became president of the English Conference in 1813.

Henry Moore, the friend and biographer of Wesley, and president in 1804 and 1823, was also an Irishman, of Dublin, born in 1751. When Samuel Bradburn was at Dublin in 1777 no small stir was made in the Irish Church by the ejection of a young clergyman, Edward Smyth, for praying extempore, holding services in cottages and neighboring parishes, and for privately admonishing "the great man of the parish" for notorious immorality. Henry Moore was at this time a young artist leading a restless and Bohemian life, a great playgoer and a worshiper of Garrick. He went to the Methodist chapel at Dublin out of curiosity to hear Mr. Smyth preach, but was greatly chagrined when the plainly clad youth, Samuel Bradburn, ascended the pulpit instead of a clergyman in gown and bands. He started up to leave the chapel, but lingered to hear the text: "The blind receive their sight. . . . And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." The sermon proved the means of turning the whole current of a powerful, active life which lasted for well-nigh a century. He joined the Methodist society, found peace with God, visited the prisons and city slums, and became a preacher, solid, experimental, practical, sometimes pointed, piquant, and indulging in keen strokes of sarcasm. He became friendly with the devout and scholarly Alexander Knox. Wesley soon discovered his worth, and when the voung preacher was contemplating marriage to Miss Nancy Young he wrote, with his customary sympathy, "I consider you and Nancy as belonging to my family, and I will take care you shall not want; and, if I were under the earth, that word is yours, 'Dwell in the land and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed.'"

After several years of happy labor in his native land Wesley called him to England. His aged friend, much against his wish, appointed him to London in 1784. Here he lived "in the Chapel House, City Road," and had as his circuit the whole of London with twenty miles around. "Mr. Wesley," he says, "had never treated me as merely his assistant in the work; his spirit and conduct had a kindness, with such an appearance of friendship, notwithstanding the disparity of years, as sometimes surprised me, and I often thought of Parnell's Hermit:

Thus stands an aged elm with ivy bound; Thus youthful ivy clasps an elm around.

But from this time specially he seemed to wish to do nothing without me. We were seldom asunder. He expected me in his study at five o'clock every morning. (He constantly rose at four.) I read all his letters to him, and answered many of them; he invariably declining to look at my answers. In many respects I was useful to him. He had very much forgotten his French, which was still fresh with me, and he received many French letters. I traveled with him what might be called his home circuit, the counties of Norfolk, Kent, Oxford, etc., during the winter, and was never absent from him on those excursions night or day. He had always books with him in the carriage, and used sometimes to read his own 'excerpta' of the classics to me."



CHAPTER CXIX

Wesley, the Traveler, Preacher, and Philanthropist

IT'INERATING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—WESLEY'S PREACHING: ITS SIMPLICITY AND POWER.—WESLEY'S PHILANTHROPY AND PERSONAL CHARITY.—PRISONS, SLAVERY, AND THE SPIRIT TRADE.—THE USE OF MONEY.

A MODERN journalist who has canonized Wesley as "the St. John of England—a good human, saint though he was"—declares that not even his great genius would have left so deep and broad an impress upon the history of the world "without that marvelous body, with muscles of whipcord and bones of steel, with lungs of leather and the heart of a lion. Wesley was always in fighting trim, without an ounce of superfluous flesh on his bones." It is certain that he could not have brought his magnetic influence to bear upon multitudes all over the British Isles if he had not possessed extraordinary physical endurance. As he told Lord North in 1775, he traveled four or five thousand miles every year, and conversed with more persons of every sort than anyone else in the three kingdoms.

The roads of Wesley's day were execrable. Although four hundred and fifty-two acts for their improvement were passed from 1764 to 1774, road engineering remained a dead art until the close of the century. In 1760 the coach took six1085

teen days for the journey from Edinburgh to London, and for a considerable part of the way there was no turnpike, only a narrow causeway with soft, unmade, packhorse paths by the



BIRMINGHAM STAGE-COACH,

In Two Days and a half; begins May the 24th, 1731.

SETSout from the Swan-Inn in Birmingham, every Monday at fix a Clock in the Morning, through Warwick, Banbury and Alesbury, to the Red Lion Inn in Alder sgate street, London, every Wednesday Morning: And returns from the said Red Lion Inn every Tbursday Morning at five a Clock the same Way to the Swan-Inn in Birmingbam every Saturday, at 21 Shillings each Passenger, and 18 Shillings from Warwick, who has liberty to carry 14 Pounds in Weight, and all above to pay One Penny a Pound.

Perform d (if God permir) By Nicholas Rothwell.

The Weekly Waggon fets out every Tuss day from the Nagg's Head in Binningham, to the Red Lion han oforesteid, every Sasurday, and returns from the faid son every Monday, by the Nagg's Head in Eirmingham every America,

Note, By the faid Nicholas Rothwell at Warnick, all Persons may be formliked with a By Couch. Charist, Chaise or Hearse, with a Mouraning Outch and able Harter, teamy Pers of Organ Britain, at ressources, Rotes: And offo Sacdie Hosses to be had.

ADVERTISEMENT OF A STAGE LINE, 1731.

side—slush in winter, dust in summer. In Lancashire in 1788 Wesley described the roads as "wonderful; sufficient to lame any horse and shake any carriage to pieces. Holes and sloughs abounded, felons hung in chains at crossroads, highwaymen lurked in the woods."

Wesley was a sturdy pedestrian. He maintained that four- or five-and-twenty miles was an easy and safe day's journey afoot, summer or winter. He tramped from Oxford to Epworth in his student days, and the year before he went to Georgia he walked one thousand five hundred

miles to preach in the villages round Oxford. Most of his continental traveling was on foot. If the road was uninteresting, he found reading easy as he walked ten or twelve miles. In his old age he usually set out on foot if his horse or chaise was not ready.

Before 1773 he made most of his long journeys on horseback and, regardless of grace, rode with loose rein, reading history, poetry, or philosophy from the book in his uplifted hand. One June day in 1750 he rode ninety miles and was twenty hours in the saddle, using two horses. He had some wonderful escapes. On one occasion he was riding through St. Nicholas Gate, Bristol, when a cart came swiftly down the hill, the cartman walking by the side and filling the narrow space. As he took no heed of Wesley's shout, the latter held in his horse to avoid riding the man down. The shaft of the cart struck his horse's shoulder and threw it down, and Wesley was shot over its head and lay stretched out against the wall, he knew not how, as the heavy cart wheel grazed him. He was much bruised, but some "warm treacle," he says, took away the pain in an hour, and the lameness in a day or two. A report spread that he was killed, so that when he returned from Wick to Bristol in time to preach there was great rejoicing. He rode with a slack rein for above one hundred thousand miles, and except with two horses, that he says would fall "head over heels" anyway, he had surprisingly few falls; and he recommends the use of a loose rein to all travelers.

His winter journeys were often very perilous. We have referred to his rough journey over Gateshead Fell in the terrible winter of 1745. Next year, on the way to Stafford, across the moors, a man told him, "Tis a thousand pounds to a penny that you do not come there to-day." But he successfully faced the blinding storm, which crusted man and horse with ice. In the Scotch highlands he was brought to a stand in the snowdrifts where three young men were buried and lost, but he dismounted and pushed on to Inverness.

When his friends insisted upon providing him with a chaise

he showed the same determination to fulfill every appointment. The old sexton, Peter Martin, of Helstone, used to tell how, when he was ostler at the inn, he had driven Wesley to St. Ives. When they reached Hayle the sands which separated them from St. Ives were covered by the rising tide. A captain of a vessel came up and begged them to go back at once. Wesley said he must go on, as he had to preach at a certain hour. Looking out of the window, he shouted, "Take the sea! Take the sea!" Soon the horses were swimming, and the poor ostler expected every moment to be drowned; but Wesley put his head out of the window—his long white hair was dripping with the salt water.

- "What is your name, driver?" he asked.
- "Peter," said the man.
- "Peter," he said, "fear not: thou shalt not sink."

At last the driver got his carriage safely over. Wesley's first care, he says, was "to see me comfortably lodged at the tavern;" he secured warm clothing, good fire, and refreshment for his driver, then, totally unmindful of himself, and drenched as he was with the dashing waves, he proceeded to the chapel, where he preached according to appointment. He was then in his eighty-third year.

Although he read as he traveled, nothing seemed to escape his observation. His Journals are alive with critical notes on men and manners, nature and art. Two excursions to Holland—the only "preacher's holiday" he appears to have indulged in—are described in 1783 and 1786 with great vivacity. He notes the cleanliness of the streets and houses, the beauty of women and children with an inexpressible air of innocence in their faces; the Swiss guards at The Hague, who all wear large whiskers, which they keep as black as their boots; the shady serpentine walks of the palace grounds,



SOME OF WESLEY'S PREACHING PLACES.

A cottage chapel, John Clarke's.

The double-decked chapel, Nottingham.

Preaching room at John Clarke's, Where Wesley preached, Cradley

and the poor in the workhouse at Amsterdam, knitting, spinning, and weaving—an object-lesson to British guardians. He was welcomed by men and women of all ranks, and, as Moore says, "indulged and enlarged his catholic spirit by fellowship with the truly pious of all nations."

Wesley's headquarters for England were London, where he spent several months every year; Bristol, in the west, with the neighboring Kingswood School as his home in later life; and Newcastle, with the hospitable Orphanage House, in the north. He itinerated by a careful plan, to avoid all waste of labor. He concentrated his preaching on the most thickly populated parts of England, though he visited many villages by the way. Miners and colliers, weavers and spinners, artisans and laborers, formed the backbone of his societies, with a strong contingent of commercial men and a few doctors and lawyers.

The fashionable circles of London he left mainly to Lady Huntingdon and her chaplains. He had the worst opinion of the professedly intellectual and higher classes, so called. "O how hard it is," he once exclaimed, "to be shallow enough for a polite audience!" "I have found some of the uneducated poor who have exquisite taste and sentiment, and many, very many, of the rich who have scarcely any at all." "I love the poor; in many of them I find pure, genuine grace, unmixed with paint, folly, and affectation." And yet he was, as Dr. Rigg says, "as true and thorough an English gentleman as Wyclif, the hero and reformer of his own university, whose breeding and lineage seem to be reflected in the kingliness of his features and his person; but, unlike Wyclif, who was a doctor among scholars and a preacher and witness before nobles and statesmen, but not-perhaps for want of opportunity—a preacher to the people, Wesley was as much a preacher to the multitude, whether of town or country, as Hugh Latimer himself, the man of yeoman birth; although, herein unlike Latimer, he never, in his plain words to the plainest, the poorest, the least instructed, employed



THE HIGH CHURCH, HULL.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

When nearly eighty-three years old Wesley preached here twice to throngs. Next day he rode seventy-six miles, preached thrice, and at night was "no more tired than when I rose in the morning."

any other language than would have been suitable for a gentleman to use in addressing educated men."

Wesley as a preacher possessed many natural advantages, as the accounts of him by John Nelson and Dr. Kennicott have shown us. His expressive features, his vivid eye, his clear voice and manly, graceful carriage made his hearers either forget his small stature or wonder that a frame so slight should enshrine a manhood so sturdy. When he preached at Hull in his old age, in the largest parish church in England, he was well heard. In the open air his voice

reached the outskirts of the vast crowds. One of his favorite preaching places was in Cornwall, the natural amphitheater at Gwennap: "the finest I know in the kingdom." At one of his early annual services there it is supposed there were ten thousand people. The service continued until the darkness of night covered the vast assembly, yet there was "the deepest attention; none speaking, stirring, or scarce looking aside." On subsequent visits he speaks of preaching to "a plain, simple-hearted people." "I stood on the wall in the calm, still evening, with the setting sun behind me, and almost an innumerable multitude before, behind, and on either hand. Many, likewise, sat on the little hills, at some distance from the bulk of the congregation." Then came a wide contrast, when the people were driven away for fear of a "great company of tinners, made drunk on purpose," coming to disturb them. And anon he says: "At noon I preached in Redruth, and in the evening in Gwennap. It blew hard, and rained almost without ceasing; but the congregation stood as if it had been a fair summer's evening." It was here that, after preaching, he "saw a strange sight—a man that is old and rich, and yet not covetous." At a service in 1773 "the people both filled" the natural amphitheater "and covered the ground round about to a considerable distance; so that, supposing the space to be four score yards square, and to contain five persons in a square yard, there must be above two-and-thirty thousand people—the largest assembly I ever preached to. Yet I found upon inquiry all could hear, even to the skirts of the congregation! Perhaps the first time that a man of seventy had been heard by thirty thousand persons at once."

Wesley's extraordinary power as a preacher was due to his simplicity, his force of argument, his grip upon the reason and conscience, his transparent sincerity, his spirituality. He

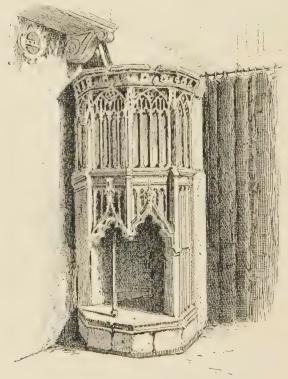


JOHN WESLEY PREACHING AT GWENNAP PIT,



was not an impassioned and dramatic orator, like Whitefield. He did not, like his brother Charles, melt his hearers by his deep emotion and pathetic appeals. He "reasoned of sin and righteousness and judgment." John Nelson witnesses to his power of making the "heart beat like the pendulum of a clock; I thought he spoke to no one but me." "This man can tell the secrets of my heart; he hath not left me there, for he hath shown the remedy, even the blood of Jesus." After his "day of Pentecost" his whole man was "kindled and inspired by a divine conviction and force, and he preached as one inspired," with solemn intensity and perfect self-control, to crowds swayed by feelings which found expression in sobs and tears and outcries of prayer or praise.

St. John's First Epistle was his model of style. "Here," he says, "are simplicity and sublimity together, the strongest sense and the plainest language. How can anyone that would speak as the oracles of God use harder words than are found here?" He advised all his young preachers to make St. John their master. He said that once, as a young man, he preached to a country congregation a highly finished sermon, to which the people listened with open mouths. He saw they did not understand him, and reading his sermon to an intelligent servant, asked her to stop him at every word too hard for her. Betty cried "Stop, sir," so often that he grew impatient, but persevered, found a plain word for every hard one, then he preached again and found he was understood. His first extempore sermon was preached in All Hallows Church, Lombard Street, London. In 1788 he told the attendant, as he was putting on his gown to preach again in the same place: "Sir, it is above fifty years since I first preached in this church; I remember it from a particular circumstance. I came without a sermon, and going up the pulpit stairs I hesitated, and returned into the vestry under much mental confusion and agitation. A woman who stood by noticed my concern, and said, 'Pray, sir, what is the matter?' I replied, 'I have not brought a sermon with me.' Putting



PULPIT OF ST. PAUL'S, BEDFORD.

Standing here, Wesley preached his famous sermon on The Great Assize, 1758.

her hand on my shoulder, she said, 'Is that all? Cannot you trust God for a sermon?'" Her question went home; he spoke with freedom, and from that time he was independent of manuscript.

Sometimes, as we have seen, he preached at great length to hearers who never wearied. Sometimes he brought forth the treasures of ancient philoso-

phy and interwove classical passages of point and beauty into his sermons, as in his sermon on The Great Assize, preached before the Judge of the Common Pleas at Bedford. His sermon on Free Grace reveals his power of combining "doctrinal argument with declamatory invective of the most

scathing terribleness." But his printed sermons as a rule do not represent the energy and directness of his extempore preaching when vast crowds hung upon his lips. How he preached in the open air, face to face with a raging mob, is better suggested by one of the many entries in his Journal: "I called for a chair. The winds were hushed, and all was calm and still. My heart was filled with love and my mouth with arguments. They were amazed; they were ashamed; they were melted; they devoured every word."

Wesley was a pioneer philanthropist. Of his schools for the poor, his Orphan House, prison mission, labor home, dispensary, poor man's loan offices and bank we have already given some account. He and his comrades maintained their prison visitation to the last. He took the deepest interest in prison reform, wrote pungent criticisms on the state of the jails, and greatly encouraged John Howard by a sermon he preached at the philanthropist's seat in Bedfordshire on "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Howard wrote to Alexander Knox: "I was encouraged by him to go on vigorously with my own designs. I saw in him how much a single man might achieve by zeal and perseverance, and I thought, Why may not I do as much in my way as Mr. Wesley has done in his, if I am only as assiduous and persevering? And I determined that I would pursue my work with more alacrity than ever."

In 1787 Wesley writes: "I had the pleasure of a conversation with Mr. Howard, I think one of the greatest men in Europe. Nothing but the mighty power of God can enable him to go through his difficult and dangerous employments." In 1789, on the eve of his departure for Russia, Howard left for Wesley at City Road a copy of his latest work on prisons. Wesley wrote to a friend, "God has raised him up to be a

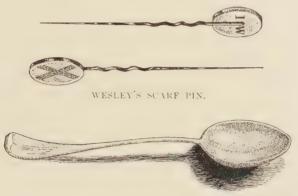
blessing to many nations." Seven months later Howard fell a victim to fever.

Sixty years before slavery was abolished in the British dominions Wesley denounced the trade as "that execrable sum of all villainies." This was in the year 1772, when Granville Sharp began to take up the subject, and fifteen years before the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade was founded, of which—besides Sharpe—Clarkson and Wilberforce were leaders. In 1774 Wesley published his Thoughts upon Slavery. Into a few pages he crowded a remarkable summary of history and argument written with a pen of fire. We shall find that the last letter he ever wrote was addressed to Wilberforce, encouraging him in his magnificent mission.

To William Pitt, prime minister, he wrote his remarkable letter on the spirit traffic which was cursing England. "Have not the spirits distilled this year cost twenty thousand of his majesty's liege subjects? Is not the blood of these men vilely bartered for £20,000? not to say anything of the enormous wickedness that has been occasioned thereby, and not to suppose that these poor wretches have any souls! To say nothing of many millions of quarters of corn destroyed, which, if exported, would have added more than £20,000 to the revenue, be it considered 'dead men pay no taxes.' . . . You are a man. You have not lost human feelings. You do not love to drink human blood. You are a son of Lord Chatham. Nay, if I mistake not, you are a Christian." And so does Wesley go on to urge the suppression of the traffic, anticipating every main argument of the temperance reformers of the present century. There is another terrible indictment of the spirit trade in his sermon on The Use of Money.

The story of Wesley's personal charity would fill a volume.

Moore tells us that he distributed more than £30,000 during his lifetime. This was mostly derived from the profits on his books. He was content with an allowance of £30 a year from the London society. When the commissioners of excise, supposing that he must be wealthy, peremptorily de-



ONE OF WESLEY'S SILVER SPOONS.

manded that he "make due entry" of his plate, that duty might be levied on it, he wrote: "Sir, I have two silver teaspoons here in London and two at Bristol. This is all which I have at present: and I shall not buy any more while so many round me want bread."

Of course he was beset by beggars of all kinds. Moore told Dr. Osborne's father: "One day a fellow came who called himself Major Machavini. However, he spoke Latin, and brought a Latin letter for the 'Rev. Dr. Wesley.' I took it up stairs; Wesley put five shillings into his pocket and came down. He began to give the man good advice; but the man did not relish it, supposing that Mr. Wesley had not read the letter, and did not know of his conversion from popery.

"'Domine, Protestantus sum,' he cried; 'non Catholicus sum.'

- "'Domine,' said Mr. Wesley, 'malus Protestantus pejor est quam malo Catholico.'
- "However, he gave him a crown. He never sent any empty away, except once. That was on a Sunday morning. He was going to preach at City Road, after the local preachers had breakfasted. Tommy Tennant went with him across the [chapel] yard, which was full of beggars. He had no money, and as they crowded round him, elbowed them away.
 - "'What!' said he, 'am I to keep all the poor of the parish?'
- "It was a frosty morning, and he slipped and fell at full length on his back.
- "'There,' said he, 'Tommy, I have got my payment! I ought to have given them good words at least.'
- "It was his habit to raise his hat to any poor person who thanked him for his kindness."

Some of the wealthy men of Manchester told Wesley that he did not know the value of money. He took no notice, but bit his lip and let them talk on. When he was preaching he recollected it, and began to talk of it immediately. "I have heard to-day," said he, "that I do not know the value of money. What! don't I know that twelve pence make a shilling, and twenty-one shillings a guinea? Don't I know that if given to God, it's worth heaven—through Christ? And don't I know that if hoarded and kept, it's worth damnation to the man who hoards it?"

Wesley's doctrine of Christian stewardship is summed up in his sermon on The Use of Money, with its three points: "Gain all you can; save all you can; give all you can;" and he practiced what he preached. His philanthropy and catholicity found utterance in the printed sermon on A Catholic Spirit, which so deeply touched the heart of Dean Stanley.



CHAPTER CXX

A Pioneer of Popular Literature

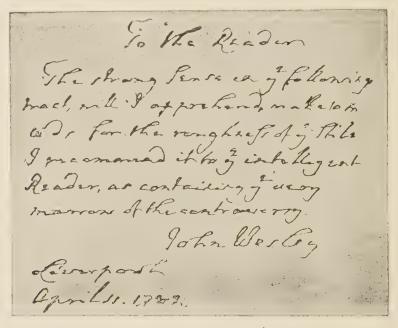
"ALWAYS IN HASTE, NEVER IN A HURRY."—WESLEY'S LITERARY STYLE.
—Some Modern Criticisms.—The Value of the Journal.—Cheap
Books for the People.—The First Tract Society.—The Notes,
Sermons, and Appeals.—Educational Books.—The Old Arminian Magazine.

OW did a man who traveled five thousand miles a year, preached forty thousand five hundred sermons, and organized a great Church find time to write or edit more than four hundred publications and become a pioneer of popular literature? Let Wesley himself tell us.

"You do not," he writes in 1777, "understand my manner of life. Though I am always in haste, I am never in a hurry, because I never undertake more work than I can go through with perfect calmness of spirit. It is true I travel four or five thousand miles in a year. But I generally travel alone in my carriage; and consequently am as retired ten hours in a day as if I was in a wilderness. Other days I never spend less than three hours (frequently ten or twelve) in the day alone. Yet I find time to visit the sick and poor—a matter of absolute duty." Before he was compelled to take to a chaise he read on horseback or when walking. Detained by the tide, on one occasion, he tells us he "sat down in a cottage for

three or four hours and translated Aldrich's Logic." Moore tells us that he wrote very slowly.

Wesley's style bears no traces of "hurry." Even his familiar letters are never slovenly. Leslie Stephen, in his History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, says:



A CHARACTERISTIC PREFACE IN WESLEY'S HANDWRITING.

"It would be difficult to find any letters more direct, forcible, or pithy in expression. He goes straight to the mark without one superfluous flourish. He writes as a man confined within the narrowest limits of time and space, whose thoughts are so well in hand that he can say everything needful within those limits." John Wesley's style cannot be better described than in his own words: "What is it constitutes a good style? Perspicuity, purity, propriety, strength, and easiness joined together. . . . As for me, I never think of my style at all,

but just set down the words that come first. . . . Clearness in particular is necessary for you and me. . . . When I had been a member of the university for about ten years I wrote and talked much as you do now; but when I talked to plain people in the castle or town I observed they gaped and stared. This obliged me to alter my style. . . And yet there is dignity in this simplicity which is not disagreeable to those of highest rank."

That keen critic, Edward Fitzgerald—the cherished friend of Thackeray, Carlyle, the Tennysons and Lord Houghton, and the translator of Omar Khayam—in urging a friend to read Wesley's Journals, writes: "It is curious to think of this diary of his running almost coevally with Walpole's Letter Diary; the two men born, and dying, too, within a few years of each other, and with such different lives to record. And it is remarkable to read pure, unaffected, and undying English, while Addison and Johnson are tainted with a style which all the world imitated." But Wesley's style was the outcome of the intensely practical character of his mind. The last thing of which he was ambitious was literary fame, although, as Leslie Stephen says, "he shows great literary power."

The value of his Journal is now generally recognized. Mr. Augustine Birrell, Q. C., M. P., the editor of Robert Browning's works, in a recent lecture at the Royal Institution, describes the Journal as "the most amazing record of human exertion ever penned by man; . . . a book which ought to be kept in mind as a means of knowledge of the eighteenth century, just as much as Tom Jones is a means of knowledge, or as Hogarth is. As one reads his Journal one is constrained to admire the magnificence of the vigor, the tremendous force of the devotion and the faith which kept John Wesley in

perpetual motion for more than half a century; and one feels glad to be able to place that Journal beside Walpole's Letters and Boswell's Johnson, and to know that in it there are some aspects of the eighteenth century that cannot be found elsewhere. . . . In his Journal he never exaggerates, or never seems to do so. The England he describes is an England full of theology and all sorts of queer vague points, and strange subjects are discussed in all places—of some of them the very phraseology is now as extinct as the wolf, or at least as rare as the badger. . . . What really shocks the reader of his Journal is his description of what may be called the public side of the country; the state of its jails, or its criminal code; the callous indifference of the magistracy, and the indifference of the clergy to missionary effort."

As a pioneer of popular literature Wesley holds a high place in national history. The traveling peddlers, or "chapmen," were the only purveyors of cheap books before Wesley did his work, and their "cheap books," sold for a few pence, were of little or no value from an educational standpoint, as our facsimiles of some of the most harmless show. Wesley stored his preachers' saddlebags with penny books of a wholesome sort. "Two and forty years ago," he writes, "having a desire to furnish poor people with cheaper, shorter, and plainer books than any I have seen, I wrote many small tracts, generally a penny apiece, and afterward several larger. Some of these have such a sale as I never thought of; and by this means I became unawares rich." What he did with the wealth we shall learn later. He created an appetite for reading among the people. His cheap books had an enormous circulation, and Watson justly observes that "he was probably the first to use on any extensive scale this means of popular reformation."

Wesley and Coke formed the first tract society in 1782, seventeen years before the formation of the Religious Tract Society of London, and forty years before this thousands of copies of Wesley's Word to a Smuggler, Word to a Sabbath-

breaker, Word to a Swearer, and other tracts were circulated broadcast. He did much by his cheap abridgements to bring stores of useful literature within the reach of those who were short of money to buy and time to read the ponderous folios and quartos in which much of the best writing was entombed. His Christian Library, in thirty volumes (1749-1755), was his greatest effort in this direction, but by this he suffered a loss of £100. Milton's Paradise Lost, Young's Night Thoughts, and even the Pilgrim's Progress were mercilessly condensed, and though

fervation whereof God required of them, in each it the hoppine I study meaning reformance whereof it was by him presents a mother of our Brahien themselves (generally.) So that in take it be imposed, that the Universities I was a manner, and a final remain only excepted) of mankind, not withit anding any grace or benefit received by the fection Adam, in, or through his death is in an abiolate and inter incipacity, yearly-th under an impolibility of eleaping eternal mistry and tormens, evident it is, that their condition, was incomparably better in the first, than it is in, or by, the fection Adam. But how amountifients fuch a neuron of toppolition as thus its authorities, where ever, they speak of the trainferned of area of God veuchsized in Jefus Christ unto the World which is the great Subject of Argument of their delight, and in the explanation whereof from place to place they trumph, do abindantly telling. Booking, taken, and raised up again by Jefus Christ, is in so risach the botter, condition by meaning takin, and raised up again by Jefus Christ, is in so risach the better, condition by the remained this ruting up, above also it was before it till, as the earthy Takenacle of the bodies of the Sain's will be, by being raised up from the dead, above what this was existed up from the dead, above what this was existed up from the dead, above what this was existed and condition was before the fill, as the earthy Takenacle of the sain's will be, by being raised up from the dead, above what this was existed and condition was before they deed. This Argument of the first him the remains and condition was before the fill, as the earthy Takenacle of the first was before it fill, as the earthy Takenacle of the forement of the forement of the first was before it fill, as the earthy Takenacle of the forement of the forement of the first was before it fill, as the earthy Takenacle of the first was before it fill, as the earthy Takenacle of the first was become to the sains with the earthy Takenacle of the sains was bef

PROOF WITH WESLEY'S MARKS.

to-day this may be regarded as vandalism, the needs of the poverty-stricken multitudes whose intellects were awakened by the revival condone the deed.

The list of Wesley's original works, from the first of 1733—a Collection of Forms of Prayer, for the use of his pupils—to the last revision of his Notes on the New Testament, fifty-seven years later, would fill a volume. The most complete Wesley bibliography was published by

Professor Richard Green, of Didsbury College, England, in 1896.

Wesley's Notes on the New Testament (constituting with his first fifty-three sermons the doctrinal standards of Methodism) appeared in 1755. The notes he made "as short as possible, that the comment may not obscure or swallow up the text, and as plain as possible, in pursuance of the main design." His brother Charles, who was an excellent critic, assisted him. He took great pains to secure a correct Greek text, using chiefly the Gnomon Novi Testamenti of Bengel-"that great light of the Christian world." He anticipated the revision of 1881 in his use of paragraphs, the omission of chapter headings, and in a large number of renderings. The first seven chapters of Matthew show one hundred and thirteen alterations made by Wesley which agree in whole or part with those found in the new revision. Of these three are in the margin of the revision, thirty-seven are in the spelling, and seventy-three in the text. This is a revelation of the critical skill and judgment of Wesley, and of the value of his Notes.

His first fifty-three sermons, referred to above as part of the doctrinal standards of Methodism, were published in 1746 and 1760. Henry Moore states that Wesley felt the need of preparing some concise, clear, and full body of divinity to guide his preachers and people. Retiring to the house of his friends, the Blackwells, at Lewisham, and taking only his Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament with him, "My design," he says in his preface, "is in some sense to forget all that I have ever read in my life." One portion of this preface is so characteristic of the man and his methods that no review of his work would be complete without it. He writes: "To candid, reasonable men I am not afraid to lay open what have

been the inmost thoughts of my heart. I have thought, I am a creature of a day, passing through life as an arrow through the air. I am a spirit come from God, and returning to God; just hovering over the great gulf, till, a few moments hence, I am no more seen; I drop into an unchangeable eternity! I want to know one thing: the way to heaven; how to land safe on that happy shore. God himself has condescended to teach the way; for this very end he came down from heaven. He hath written it down in a book. O give me that book! at any price, give me the book of God! I have it; here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be homo unius libri. Here, then, I am far from the busy ways of men. I sit down alone; only God is here. In his presence I open, I read his book, for this end—to find the way to heaven. Is there a doubt concerning the meaning of what I read? Does anything appear dark or intricate? I lift up my heart to the Father of lights. 'Lord, is it not thy word, If any man lack wisdom, let him ask it of God? Thou givest liberally and upbraidest not. Thou hast said if any man be willing to do thy will, he shall know. I am willing to do; let me know thy will.' I then search after and consider parallel passages of Scripture, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. I meditate thereon with all the attention and earnestness of which my mind is capable. If any doubt still remains, I consult those who are experienced in the things of God, and then the writings whereby, being dead, they yet speak. And what I thus learn that I teach."

These written and printed sermons, as we have noted, do not represent his preaching, and must be regarded rather as careful statements of his doctrines intended for thoughtful reading. His later sermons were prepared for his magazine, and are more varied in style and literary illustration. As

he wrote one of his last sermons, The Wedding Garment, in 1790, he said, "My eyes are now waxed dim; my natural force is abated. However, while I can I would fain do a little for God before I drop into the dust."

His Earnest Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion (1743 and 1745) contain some of his most trenchant and powerful work. They were not only a vindication of Methodism, but of the Christian religion, and answered their purpose to a remarkable degree. They were fruitful, as we have seen, in the conversion of deists like Lampe, and Wesley tells of several like "Dr. W——, a steady, rational infidel," whom "it pleased God to touch" as they read. They did more to melt the hearts of the more reasonable of Wesley's clerical opponents than anything else he wrote. Doddridge wrote to him in 1746, "I have been reading (I will not pretend to tell you with what strong emotion) . . . your Further Appeals. . . . I have written upon the title-page, 'How forcible are right words."

Of his poetical and musical publications we have already given an account. In addition to a large number of religious books, too numerous to be recorded here, he prepared for children A Token, Instructions, Lessons, and Prayers, together with schoolbooks which included English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew grammars, nine books of Latin prose, and a Roman and an English history. Nor did he omit science, as The Desideratum; or, Electricity Made Plain and Useful, and A Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation; or, A Compendium of Natural Philosophy, published in two, three, and, afterward, five volumes, show. He issued extracts from medical works in three different volumes, as well as his Primitive Physic. He spent much time upon A Concise History of England, in four volumes; A Concise Ecclesiastical History

from the Birth of Christ to the Beginning of the Present Century, and his Complete English Dictionary, in which he defines a Methodist as "one that lives according to the method laid down in the Bible." He also wrote a Compendium of Logic, and a tract On Pronunciation and Gesture. His Collected Works, in thirty-two volumes, were published 1771–1774. All this work was done from what Dr. Osborne describes as his "intense determination to popularize literature, and by means of cheap extracts and abridgments to bring good books within reach of his societies, most of whom had neither time to read nor money to buy much more than he supplied to them."

The Arminian Magazine, commenced in 1778, realized a purpose which had been moving Wesley's busy brain for forty years. He announced it in the preface of the first number as designed to take the place of the Christian Magazine, which had collapsed, and to oppose the Spiritual Magazine and the Gospel Magazine, the organs of higher Calvinism. It was avowedly polemic. Wesley declared in a letter to Thomas Taylor that his object was, "not to get money," but "to counteract the poison of other periodicals." But it also supplied, by means of lives and letters, "the marrow of experimental and practical religion." It was, after all, "a chapel in the style of a citadel: templum in modo arcis." Poetry, science, travel, and even fiction were represented. Not only was the "truth of God defended," the "word of God illustrated," but the "grace of God manifested" in Christian biography, and the "works of God displayed" in devout and scientific papers. The memoirs and obituaries which for a hundred and twenty years have lent to the magazine "the odor of Scriptural sanctity are not mortuary tablets on the walls of dimly lighted catacombs," says a later editor,

"but speaking family portraits, enlivening the long corridors of the palace home of Faith." We reproduce (see page 1042) a portion of a page from the number for November, 1788,

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[PRICE SIX-PENCE.]	

TOTHE

READER.

T' is usual, I am informed, for the compilers of Magazines, to employ the outside Covers, in acquainting the courteous reader, with the Beauties and Excellencies of what he will find within. I beg him to excuse me from this trouble: from writing a panegyrie upon myself. Neither can I defire my Friends to do it for me, in their recommendatory Letters. I am content this Magazine should stand or fall, by its own intrinsic value. If it is a compound of Falshood, Ribaldry, and Nonsense, let it sink into oblivion. If it contains only the words of truth and soberness, then let it meet with a favourable reception,

with a favourable reception,

It is usual likewise with Magazine Writers,
to speak of themselves in the plural number;
"We will do thus." And indeed it is the general Custom of Great Men so to do. But I am a little one. Let me then be excused in this also, and permitted to speak as I am ac-

customed to do.

John Wesley.

Nov. 24, 1777.

It will eafly be observed, That this Magazine contains sever Articles than eay other. If his is not by accident, but oferga. I have frequently been disposed by the many his and ferage of various kinds, which make up a great part of most publishtions of this nature. Before one has well, entered upon any fished, it west an end, and efferred to the next Number: a more trick to decoy the reader, to buy another and another Number. Of the contrary, I shall redeavout to begin and to colded as a many things, as possible in each number and with negard to taking the Numbers that follows let every Kenter as the

COVER AND CONTENTS OF THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE ARMINIAN MAGAZINE.

WESLEY'S EDITORIAL SALUTATORY.

In the first number of the Arminian Magazine.

which gives John Wesley's brief Conference obituary of his brother Charles (in reply to the question, "Who have died this year?"). In 1798 the title was altered to The Methodist Magazine, its controversial warfare having been accomplished, and in 1821 the word Wesleyan was prefixed by Jabez

Bunting. The magazine added seriously to the labors of Wesley, but he accomplished his work by snatching up fragments of time and literal windfalls of leisure. Detained by contrary winds, in his eighty-fourth year, in a crowded

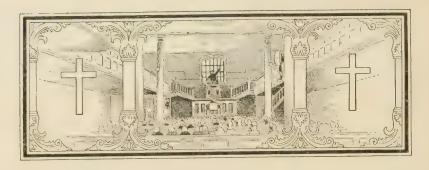
Dutch inn at Helvetsluys, he serenely "took the opportunity of writing a sermon for the magazine."

For forty years Wesley had a bookstore at the Foundry. In 1777 the business was removed to the house adjoining the new morning chapel at City Road, where Joseph Benson lived. In 1808 the premises in City Road were taken. Thomas Olivers, the poet, was the first editor, and sorely troubled Wesley by



GEORGE WHITEFIELD. Book steward, 1779-1804.

his lack of accuracy. John Atlay was the first book steward, and proved a sorry business man. He afterward left Methodism. A lesser George Whitefield held the office of steward from 1779 till 1804. Thus began the great "Book Concerns" of world-wide Methodism, which have done so much for the circulation of its literature and the assistance of its funds.



CHAPTER CXXI

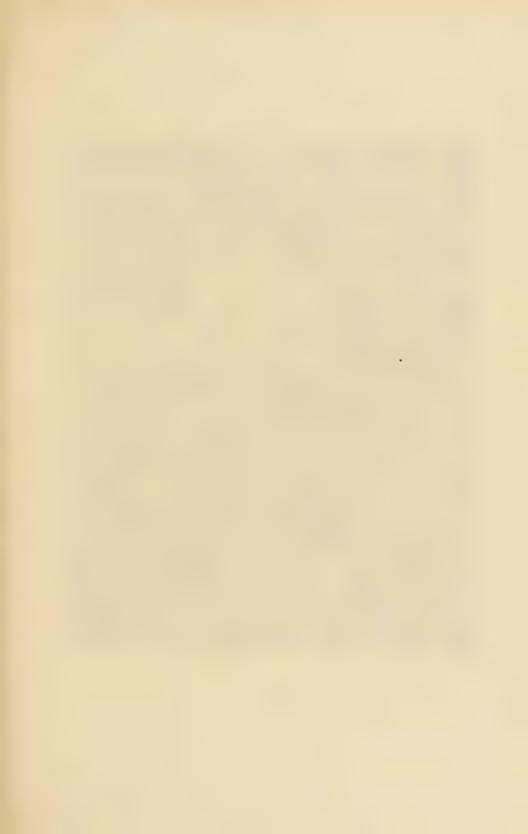
A Venerable Apostle

A MARVELOUS OLD AGE.—FAREWELL TO IRELAND.—THE LAST TOUR IN CORNWALL.—PREACHING TO THE CHILDREN.—A LAST APPEAL TO AN INTOLERANT PRELATE.—THE LAST CONFERENCE.—THE LAST OPEN-AIR SERVICE.—THE LAST LETTER TO AMERICA.—THE LAST SERMON.

N the verge of fourscore Wesley wrote: "I entered into my eightieth year, but, blessed be God, my time is not labor and sorrow. I find no more pain nor bodily infirmities than at five-and-twenty. This I still impute (1) to the power of God, fitting me for what he calls me to; (2) to my still traveling four or five thousand miles a year; (3) to my sleeping, night or day, whenever I want it; (4) to my rising at a set hour; and (5) to my constant preaching, particularly in the morning." To these he added: "lastly, evenness of temper. I feel and grieve, but, by the grace of God, I fret at nothing. But still, 'the help that is done upon earth he doeth it himself.' And this he doeth in answer to many prayers."

It was not until he was eighty-five that he began to feel that he was not "quite so agile as in times past," and that his sight was "a little decayed." But he did not even then cease to labor, and his cheerfulness was irrepressible.

The days of persecution for him were past, and he was







CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF JOHN WESLEY.

Drawn and engraved by T. Holloway. Published March 1, 1792. Wesley at the age of eighty-six, probably by John Russell, R.A.

Ridley's engraving, from a miniature.

Ridley's engraving, from the drawing by Edridge.
Published March 1, 1792.



crowned with honor wherever he went. A year after his brother's death he paid his last visit to Ireland, where he remained for nearly four months. The mayors of Dublin and Cork accorded him civic honors, and he was everywhere a coveted guest. The traditions of his prayers are cherished in many an Irish family to-day. After preaching in the castle yard at Enniskillen he was entertained by the Rev. Dr. Wilson at Moyle. Shortly after family worship Dr. Wilson said to him:

- "My wife was so delighted with your prayer that she has been looking in the Prayer Book, but cannot find it; I wish you would point it out to me."
- "My dear brother," said the venerable evangelist, "I cannot; because that prayer came down from heaven and I sent it back again."

When he was about to leave one home, he tells us, "one and another fell on their knees all round me, and most of them burst out into tears and earnest cries the like of which I have seldom heard, so that we scarce knew how to part."

He took a nine weeks' tour from Dublin through sixty towns and villages, preaching a hundred sermons; six times in the open air, and once in a place which he says was "large but not elegant—a cow house." "I was delighted," says Alexander Knox, "to find his cheerfulness in no respect abated. It was too obvious that his bodily frame was sinking; but his spirit was as alert as ever, and he was little less the light of the company he happened to be in than he had been three-and-twenty years before, when I first knew him. Such unclouded sunshine of the breast, in the deepest winter of age and on the felt verge of eternity, bespoke a mind whose recollections were as unsullied as its present sensations were serene."

Dining with an officer in Sligo barracks, in the presence of a large assembly of friends, the happy old man, near the gates of heaven, suspended the feasting, clasped his hands, and gave out and sang, with great animation:

And can we forget,
In tasting our meat,
The angelical food which ere long we shall eat;
When enrolled with the blest,
In glory we rest,
And forever sit down at the heavenly feast!

All felt the naturalness of this beautiful and spontaneous expression of joy.

He presided over his last Irish Conference (1789), and wrote: "I found such a body of men as I hardly believed could have been found together in Ireland; men of so sound experience, so deep piety, and so strong understanding. I am convinced they are no way inferior to the English Conference, except it be in number."

Wesley closed his farewell service in Ireland with his brother's hymn, "Come, let us join our friends above," pronouncing it the sweetest hymn his brother ever wrote. Before going on shipboard the vast crowd on the quay again joined him in singing. He then knelt down and asked God to bless them and their families, the Church, and their country. Not a few fell upon his neck and kissed him. As the ship moved from the shore the Irish people saw the patriarch's hands still uplifted in prayer for the land he loved so well, and "they saw his face no more."

The Leeds Conference of 1789 was remarkable for a sermon preached by a layman, Wesley's friend and physician, Dr. Hamilton, of Edinburgh. The day after the Conference concluded Wesley set out for his last visit to Cornwall. He is filled with gratitude as he sees the grace of God at Fal-

mouth. "The last time I was here," he writes, "above forty years ago, I was taken prisoner by a great mob gaping and roaring like lions. But how is the tide turned! High and low now lined the street from one end of the town to the other, out of stark love and kindness, gaping and staring as

if the king were going by. In the evening I preached on the smooth top of a hill, at a small distance from the sea, to the largest congregation I had ever seen in Cornwall, except in or near Redruth. And such a time I have not known before since I returned from Ireland. God moved wonderfully on the hearts of the people, who all seemed to know the day of their visitation."



JAMES HAMILTON, M.D.
Wesley's physician and friend, who preached the Conference sermon at Leeds in 1789.

More than twenty-five thousand assembled at the famous Gwennap pit. He preached nine times in the open air to enthusiastic crowds, and, reviewing the work in Cornwall, exclaims, "Surely forty years' labor has not been in vain here!"

He wrote on January I, 1790: "I am now an old man, decayed from head to foot. My eyes are dim; my right hand shakes much; my mouth is hot and dry every morning; I have a lingering fever almost every day; my motion is weak and slow. However, blessed be God, I do not slack my labor: I can preach and write still." He continued to rise at four,

and astonished Moore, who now lived with him, by his intense devotion to his work. He preached to the children in West Street Chapel, and says, "They flocked together from every quarter, and truly God was in the midst of them applying these words, 'Come, ye little children, hearken unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord."

At Newcastle he repeated his sermon to children, which, as Atmore says, "was literally composed and delivered in words of not more than two syllables." The "heavenly looking ancient man with silvery locks" was an object of wonder and delight to all the children that came near him.

He paid one more visit to Scotland. "His strength was almost exhausted," says the resident preacher of Glasgow; "his sight was much decayed, so that he could neither read the hymn nor text. The wheels of life were ready to stand still, but his conversation was agreeably edifying, being mixed with the wisdom and gravity of a parent and the artless simplicity of a child."

A month later, on his last birthday, June 28, he thinks his strength "probably will not return in this world. But I feel no pain from head to foot; only it seems nature is exhausted, and, humanly speaking, will sink more and more till the weary springs of life stand still." Tyerman truly observes, "No weary child of innocence ever went to its welcome couch with greater serenity than Wesley went down the steps leading to his sepulcher."

But the veteran takes up his pen once more in defense of some persecuted Methodists, and writes a pathetic letter to an intolerant bishop, who must have had a heart of stone if he did not yield to the aged apostle's appeal. The letter closes: "O, my lord, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, for pity's sake, suffer the poor people to enjoy their religious as

well as civil liberty! I am on the brink of eternity. Perhaps so is your lordship too! How soon may you also be called to



I. DR. JAMES HAMILTON, 2. REV. JOHN WESLEY. 3. REV. JOSEPH COLE. As seen walking in Edinburgh, 1790.

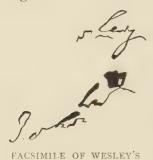
give an account of your stewardship to the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls! May he enable both you and me to do it with joy! So prays, my lord, your lordship's dutiful son and servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

"Hull, June 26, 1790."

He preached at Epworth Market Cross to the largest congregation ever seen there, and companies of people went with him from village to village, men walking on one side of the road and women on the other, singing as they walked, guarding their precious charge. His salutation to the crowds as he passed was in the words of his favorite apostle, "Little children, love one another."

The last Conference he attended was held at Bristol. In England there were now 71,463 members of society, in



SIGNATURE, 1790.
From the MS. record of Bristol
Conference Minutes,

America 43,260, and on the mission fields, 5,350. The results during the last ten years of Wesley's life were more than double the united results of the forty years preceding. "The Conference business over, its venerable head—who for seventy years had directed its deliberations—attached his signature. The autograph—preserved now as a precious relic—too clearly indicates that his

eyes were dim, and that his hand had forgot its cunning."

But still he traveled, and preached in Wales; in Bristol and other towns in the west and south; in the Isle of Wight, whose "poor, plain, artless society" delights him. Then companies of the brethren come out to meet him as he returns to London.

His last open-air service was held under an ash tree in the churchyard at Winchelsea, Sussex, on October 6, 1790. He preached at noon, that the people who were at work might hear. He stood on a large oak dining table, and spoke from the words, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand; repent ye, and believe the gospel." One who was present said, "The word was

with mighty power, and the tears of the people flowed in torrents." The ash was long known as "Wesley's tree," and the vicar of the parish has hard work to protect it from relichunting pilgrims.

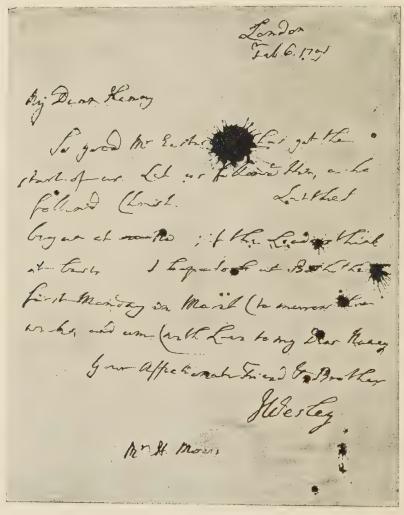
Henry Crabb Robinson, the first war correspondent of the London Times and one of the founders of London Univer-



WESLEY'S TREE, WINCHELSEA.
Under which John Wesley preached his last open-air sermon.

sity, heard Wesley preach at Colchester, and says that he stood in a wide pulpit and on each side of him was a minister, the two holding him up. His voice was scarcely audible, and his reverend countenance, with the long white locks, formed a picture never to be forgotten. "Of the kind, I never saw anything comparable to it in after life." After the people had sung a verse Wesley rose and said: "It gives me a great pleasure to find that you have not lost your singing, neither men nor women. You have not forgotten a single note. And I hope, by the assistance of God, which enables you to sing well, you may do all other things well." A universal "Amen" followed. A little ejaculation or prayer

of three or four words followed each division of the sermon. After the last prayer Wesley "rose up and addressed the



ONE OF WESLEY'S LAST LETTERS.

Alluding to the Bath journey, which he did not live to take.

people on liberality of sentiment, and spoke much against

refusing to join with any congregation on account of difference in opinion." A few days later the poet Crabbe heard the patriarch preach at Lowestoft, and was greatly touched by the way he quoted Anacreon's lines with an application of his own:

Oft am I by woman told, Poor Anacreon! thou grow'st old; See, thine hairs are falling all; Poor Anacreon! how they fall! Whether I grow old or no By these signs I do not know; But this I need not to be told, 'Tis time to live, if I grow old.

In these last days his constant prayer was, "Lord, let me not live to be useless;" and James Rogers tells us that he often closed family prayers in the preachers' home, City Road, with the verse:

O that without a lingering groan
I may the welcome word receive;
My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live!

He writes his last letter to America on February 1, 1791: "Those that desire to write . . . to me have no time to lose, for time has shaken me by the hand, and death is not far behind. . . . Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue,

Though mountains rise, and oceans roll,
To sever us in vain."

He arranged for another journey to Bath, and thence north, but that journey was never taken. He preached for the last time in City Road Chapel on Tuesday evening, February 22. Next day he preached in a magistrate's house at Leatherhead,

eighteen miles from London. The text was, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near." This was Wesley's last sermon.







DRAWN BY J. P. DAVIS.

AFTER PHOTOGRAPHS.

THE HOUSE AT LEATHERHEAD IN WHICH WESLEY PREACHED $\label{eq:his} \text{His Last Sermon.}$

Old oaken staircase.

The main entrance.

The rear entrance.



CHAPTER CXXII

The Death of the Founder of Methodism

WESLEY'S LETTER TO WILBERFORCE,—THE LAST SONGS AND SAYINGS.—
"THE BEST OF ALL IS, GOD IS WITH US."—THE FUNERAL OF WESLEY.
— DEAN STANLEY AND THE CONSECRATED CEMETERY.

O the very last Wesley kept himself in touch with the life of the day, and threw himself with all the ardor of youth into every new scheme of philanthropy. The veteran hailed with delight every young warrior on the field, and his last letter was a fitting and beautiful close to his long correspondence. A week before he died he wrote to William Wilberforce:

LONDON, FEBRUARY 24, 1791.

My Dear Sir: Unless the divine Power has raised you up to be as Athanasius, contra mundum, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise in opposing that execrable villainy, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils; but if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? O "be not weary in well-doing." Go on, in the name of God, and in the power of his might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it.

Reading this morning a tract, wrote by a poor African, I was particularly struck by that circumstance—that a man who has a black skin, being wronged or outraged by a white man, can have no redress, it being a law in our colonies that the oath of a black against a white goes for nothing. What villainy is this!

That he who has guided you from your youth up may continue to strengthen you in this and all things, is the prayer of, dear sir, your affectionate servant,

JOHN WESLEY,

On the morning after he wrote this letter Wesley returned to City Road, and at noon was helped to bed. On Sunday morning he rose again, and, sitting in his chair, cheerfully quoted from his brother's hymn:

Till glad I lay this body down,
Thy servant, Lord, attend;
And O, my life of mercy crown
With a triumphant end!

In the afternoon he said: "There is no need for more than what I said at Bristol. My words then were:

I the chief of sinners am, But Jesus died for me."

In the evening he got up again, and the same thought seemed to return as he said: "How necessary it is for everyone to be on the right foundation!

> I the chief of sinners am, But Jesus died for me.

We must be justified by faith, and then go on to full sanctification."

The next day he was weaker. In a low voice he repeated several times, "There is no way into the holiest but by the blood of Jesus." After a very restless night, on Tuesday morning he began to sing another of his brother's hymns:

All glory to God in the sky,
And peace upon earth be restored;
O Jesus, exalted on high,
Appear, our omnipotent Lord;
Who, meanly in Bethlehem born,
Didst stoop to redeem a lost race,
Once more to thy people return,
And reign in thy kingdom of grace.

O wouldst thou again be made known,
Again in thy Spirit descend;
And set up in each of thine own
A kingdom that never shall end!
Thou only art able to bless,
And make the glad nations obey,
And bid the dire enmity cease,
And bow the whole world to thy sway.

His voice failed at the end of the second verse, and after resting a while he asked Mr. Bradford for pen and ink. The pen was placed in his hand and the paper laid before him.

"I cannot," he said.

Miss Ritchie suggested, "Let me write for you, sir; tell me what you would say."

"Nothing," he replied, "but that God is with us."

In the afternoon he rallied, and said he would get up. While his clothes were being brought he astonished his friends by singing with great vigor the last verses he had given out in City Road Chapel a week before:

I'll praise my Maker while I've breath, And when my voice is lost in death Praise shall employ my nobler powers My days of praise shall ne'er be past While life, and thought, and being last, Or immortality endures.

Then he was laid on the bed from which he rose no more. He begged the friends who had gathered round him to "pray and praise," responding with a fervent "Amen" to their petitions. He grasped their hands and said, "Farewell, farewell." As others entered the room he tried to speak, but finding they could not understand him, he summoned all his remaining strength and cried out, "The best of all is, God is with us." Then lifting up his dying arms in token of victory, and raising his feeble voice with a holy triumph not

to be expressed, he again repeated the heart-reviving words, "The best of all is, God is with us."

When Mrs. Charles Wesley moistened his lips he repeated



WESLEY'S LAST HYMN.

With the Huguenot tune to which it was sung. From the Tune Book of 1742.

the thanksgiving which he had always used after meals, "We thank thee, O Lord, for these and all thy mercies; bless the Church and king; and grant us truth and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, forever and ever."

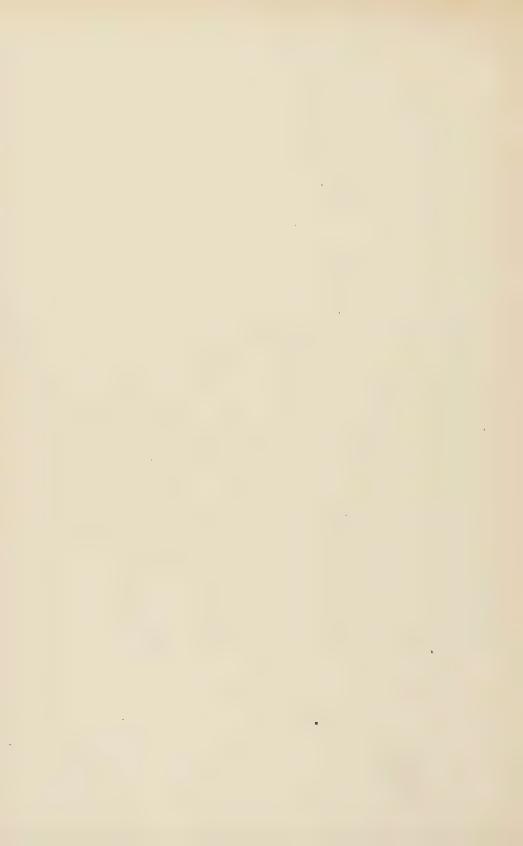
During the night he was often heard to say, "I'll praise—I'll praise." Next morning, about ten o'clock, Joseph Bradford, his faithful companion and nurse, prayed at the bedside, where eleven of Wesley's friends were assembled.* The dying patriarch was heard to say, "Farewell;" then as Bradford was repeating, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and this heir of glory shall come in!" he

entered, "without a lingering groan," into the joy of his Lord.

^{*} The familiar representation of the scene by Claxton (page 1129) introduces several individuals whose presence was, to say the least, doubtful.



JOHN WESLEY'S DEATHBED.



His friends standing around sang:

Waiting to receive thy spirit, Lo, the Saviour stands above. Shows the purchase of his merit, Reaches out the crown of love.

Then they knelt down, and Mr. Rogers led them in prayer "for the descent of the Holy Ghost on us, and all who mourn



KEY TO THE PAINTING "JOHN WESLEY'S DEATHBED."

- 1. Rev. John Wesley, A.M.
- 2. Rev. Peard Dickinson, A.M.
- 3. Rev. Joseph Bradford.
- 4. Miss Sarah Wesley.
- 5. Medical Assistant to Dr Whitehead. 15. Rev. John Broadbent.
 6. Mrs. Charles Wesley.
 7. Rev. Thomas Rankin.
 17. Rev. Alexander Mather.

- 8. Mrs. Hester Ann Rogers. 18. George Whitefield 9. Miss Ritchie (Mrs. Mortimer). 19. Rev. Jonathan Edmondson,
- 10. Rev. James Rogers.

- 11. Rev. James Creighton, A.M.
- 12. Master Rogers.
- 13. Robert Carr Brackenbury, Esq.
- 14. Rev. Thomas Broadbent.
- 20. Dr. Whitehead,

the loss the Church militant sustains by the removal of our much-loved father to his great reward."

John Wesley died on Wednesday, March 2, 1791, in his eighty-eighth year. The day before his funeral his body was laid in City Road Chapel, and ten thousand persons passed through the building to take a last-look upon his face. The poet Rogers was one of the number, and was wont to speak of the peace and beauty of the face, on which there lingered a heavenly smile."

To lessen the dangers of a vast crowd it was thought desirable for the funeral to take place in the early morning of



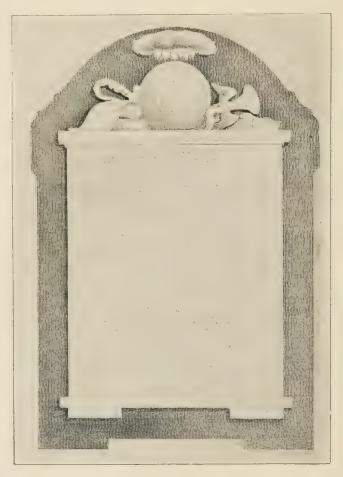
TOMB OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY.

Wednesday, March 9. The service was read by the Rev. John Richardson, one of the clergymen who had helped Wesley for nearly thirty years. When he came to the words, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother," and substituted, with profound feeling, the word "father," the throng of

people were deeply affected, and loud sobs took the place of silent tears.

In one of his American addresses of 1878 Dean Stanley said: "On visiting in London the City Road Chapel, in which John Wesley ministered, and the cemetery adjoining, in which he is buried, I asked an old man who showed me the cemetery—I asked him, perhaps inadvertently, and as an English Churchman might naturally ask—"By whom was this cemetery consecrated?" And he answered, "It was consecrated by the bones of that holy man, that holy servant of God, John Wesley."

Methodism, as Wesley left it, was a rapidly growing confederation of churches, with five hundred and forty ministers and about one hundred and twenty-five thousand members on two sides of the Atlantic. While he lived Wesley's pervasive personality had tempered and cemented the British societies: but "the Elijah of the eighteenth century left behind him no Elisha." He had, however, carefully provided that his death should not involve the dissolution of Methodism. He sacrificed his Church theories for the sake of the highest purpose for which the Church exists. He acted on his own maxim, "Church or no Church, souls must be saved!" Despite his lifelong love for the Established Church, and his protests against separation, he had, with guileless inconsistency and consummate statesmanship, provided for the organization of a free Church with a pastorate that was at once a real Presbytery and a primitive Episcopacy. John Pawson, who was president of the Conference in 1793, says Wesley "foresaw that the Methodists would, after his death, soon become a distinct people; in order, therefore, to preserve all that was valuable in the Church of England among the Methodists he ordained Mr. Mather and Dr. Coke bishops. These he undoubtedly designed should ordain others. Mr. Mather told us so at the Manchester Conference; but we did not then understand him." Henry Moore and John Murlin confirmed



WESLEY'S TABLET IN CITY ROAD.

this, and the former wrote to the Conference of 1837, "I am the only person now living that Mr. Wesley committed that power to—that is, the power to ordain—and I know that he committed it for the purpose that it should become a common thing whenever it should be judged by the Conference best to adopt it."

At the first Conference after Wesley's death Joseph Bradford produced a sealed letter, which Wesley had charged him to deliver to the president, containing his last counsels to the Conference. It was dated 1785, and stated that some of the traveling preachers had expressed a fear lest those who were named in the Deed of Declaration should exclude their brethren "either from preaching in connection with you or from some other privileges which they now enjoy. I know no other way to prevent any such inconvenience than to leave these, my last words, with you. I beseech you, by the mercies of God, that you never avail yourselves of the Deed of Declaration to assume any superiority over your brethren, but let all things go on among those itinerants who choose to remain together exactly in the same manner as when I was with you, so far as circumstances will permit. In particular, I beseech you, if you ever loved me, and if you now love God and your brethren, to have no respect for persons in stationing the preachers, in choosing children for the Kingswood School, in disposing of the yearly contribution and the preachers' fund, or any other public money. But do all things with a single eve, as I have done from the beginning. Go on thus, doing all things without prejudice or partiality, and God will be with you even to the end."



CHAPTER CXXIII

The Manhood of Wesley

HIS APPEARANCE. - PORTRAITS. - HABITS. - CHARACTER.

UR portraits of Wesley give some idea of his appearance from early manhood to old age. The noblest portrait of all is by George Romney, the rival of Sir Joshua Reynolds. "Wesley is in his well-known clerical garb. The face has a calm, devout dignity, which befits the ideal Wesley, combining all the traditions concerning him as a scholar, a divine, a true gentleman, and a saint. The beautiful, cloudless face tells not its tale of fourscore years and six. None of the Psalmist's prediction concerning "labor and sorrow" frets the serenity of his countenance, or makes "his cheek the map of days outworn." Yet when Wesley sat to Romney he was within two years of his decease, and in those lineaments of beatitude "life's shadows were meeting eternity's day."

Wesley's hazel eyes are said to have been bright and penetrating, even to the last. In youth his hair was black, and in old age silvery white. In height he was not quite five feet six inches, and weighed one hundred and twenty-two pounds; his frame was well knit, muscular, and strong. He was



on arti



scrupulously neat in his person and habits, and wore a narrow-plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar, buckled shoes, and three-cornered hat. "I dare no more," he said in his old age, "write in a fine style than wear a fine coat." "Exactly so," remarks Overton, "but then he was particular about his coats. He was most careful never to be slovenly in his dress, always to be dressed in good taste. . . . It is just the same with his style; it is never slovenly, never tawdry."

In his habits of order, account-keeping, and punctuality he was literally a "methodist." "Sammy," said he to his nephew, "be punctual. Whenever I am to go to a place the first thing I do is to get ready; then what time remains is all my own." In old age, as he stood waiting for his chaise at Haslingden, he remarked, "I have lost ten minutes, and they are lost forever." But John Rishton used to tell that when Wesley bade him adieu "his face was as the face of an angel." Every minute had its value to him for work or rest. "Joshua, when I go to bed I go to bed to sleep, and not to talk," was his rebuke to a young preacher who once shared his room and wished to converse at sleeping time.

Dr. Johnson once said to Boswell: "John Wesley's conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have his talk out, as I do." On another occasion he said, "I hate to meet John Wesley: the dog enchants you with his conversation, and then breaks away to go and visit some old woman." In 1784 Wesley dined with the doctor, having set apart two hours for the purpose. But dinner was an hour late, and Wesley had to leave as soon as it was over. Johnson was disappointed, and his friend, Mrs. Hall (Wesley's sister), tried to soothe him, saying, "Why, doctor, my brother has been with you

two hours." He replied, "Two hours, madam! I could talk all day, and all night, too, with your brother." In Wesley's Journal for February 18, 1784, there is this touching entry: "I spent two hours with that great man, Dr. Johnson, who is sinking into the grave by a gentle decay."

Yet Wesley was never hurried in mind or manner. "He had no time," says Henry Moore, "to mend anything that he either wrote or did. He therefore always did everything not only with quietness, but with what might be thought slowness." His perfect calmness of spirit was only attained by self-discipline and prayer. He tells us: "When I was at Oxford, and lived almost like a hermit, I saw not how any busy man could be saved. I scarce thought it possible for a man to retain the Christian spirit amid the noise and bustle of the world; God taught me better by my own experience. I had ten times more business in America—that is, at intervals—than ever I had in my life; but it was no hindrance to silence of spirit." Once, when Wesley was busily writing, Mr. Bolton, of Blandford Park, Witney, tried to draw him into conversation by saying how much pleasanter it was to live in the country than in the town. "All is silent, all retired, and no distracting noises of the busy multitude intrude themselves." "True, Neddy," said Wesley, "but noisy thoughts may." Mr. Bolton took the hint and allowed his busy guest to finish his work.

Dr. Adam Clarke maintained that Wesley's "deep intimacy with God" was the secret of a tranquillity more remarkable even than Fletcher's, when we consider the amazing labor Wesley had to undergo, "the calumnies he had to endure, his fightings without, the opposition arising from members of society within, and his care of all his churches."

Wesley was a delightful companion, and his comrades on

the road and friends in the home witness to his cheerfulness, courtesy, kindness, and wit. "Sour godliness is the devil's religion," was one of his sayings. He told Mr. Blackwell that he could not bear to have people about him who were in ill humor, and he did his best to cure them. "If a dinner ill dressed, a hard bed, a poor room, a shower of rain, or a dirty road will put them out of humor, it lays a burden upon me greater than all the rest put together. By the grace of God, I never fret: I repine at nothing; I am discontented at nothing. And to have persons at my ear fretting and murmuring at everything is like tearing the flesh off my bones. I see God sitting upon his throne and ruling all things well."

Knox, as we have seen, was charmed with Wesley's habitual cheerfulness. When he first met him he tried to form an impartial judgment of his character, and wrote: "So fine an old man I never saw! The happiness of his mind beamed forth in his countenance. Every look showed how fully he enjoyed 'the gay remembrance of a life well spent.' Wherever Wesley went he diffused a portion of his own felicity. Easy and affable in his demeanor, he accommodated himself. to every sort of company, and showed how happily the most finished courtesy may be blended with the most perfect piety. In his conversation we might be at a loss whether to admire most his fine classical taste, his extensive knowledge of men and things, or his overflowing goodness of heart. While the grave and serious were charmed with his wisdom, his sportive sallies of innocent mirth delighted even the young and thoughtless; and both saw in his uninterrupted cheerfulness the excellency of true religion. No cynical remarks on the levity of youth embittered his discourses. No applausive retrospect to past times marked his present discontent. In him even old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a

cloud; and it was impossible to observe him without wishing fervently, 'May my latter end be like his!'"

Wesley and one of his preachers were once taking lunch with a gentleman whose daughter had been greatly impressed by Wesley's preaching. The itinerant, a man of very plain manners and little tact, was conversing with the young lady, who was remarkable for her beauty. He noticed that she wore a number of rings, and taking hold of her hand, he raised it, and called Wesley's attention to the sparkling gems. "What do you think of this, sir," said he, "for a Methodist's hand?" The girl turned crimson, and the question was awkward for Wesley, whose aversion to all display of jewelry was so well known. But the aged evangelist showed a tact Chesterfield might have envied. With a quiet, benevolent smile he looked up, and simply said, "The hand is very beautiful." The young lady appeared at evening service without her jewels, and became a decided Christian.

Of Wesley's love for children we have already given instances. To a troubled mother at Exeter, whose baby disturbed the company at dinner, he said, "Hand him to me, my sister, and I'll quiet him!" He received the child, but alas! he who was usually so successful with the turbulent found that he had, for once, overestimated his powers. The infant who made so much noise that even Wesley could not quiet him was Theophilus Lessey, famous for his eagle eye and soaring eloquence, who in 1839 was a successor of Wesley in the presidency of Conference.

Robert Southey says: "I was in a house in Bristol where Wesley was. When a mere child, on running down stairs before him with a beautiful little sister of my own, whose ringlets were floating over her shoulders, he overtook us on the landing and took my sister in his arms and kissed her.

Placing her on her feet again, he then put his hand upon my head and blessed me, and I feel as though I had the blessing of that good man upon me at the present moment." As Southey spoke the last words his eyes glistened with tears, and his voice showed what deep emotion the memory of that scene of his childhood awakened.

One fact which it is difficult to reconcile with Wesley's kindness to children is the severity of his rules for the management of Kingswood School. In this, it must be admitted, he was too much influenced by the educational methods of his century, which were hard and semimonastic. As to his restriction of the boys' play, it ought to be remembered, as Dr. Rigg has pointed out, that public schools in Wesley's time were "rude and harsh Spartan republics, where play meant coarse violence, and where free, unfettered intercourse among the boys meant mutual barbarizing and demoralization." Of this he had had bitter experience at the Charter House.

That Wesley was not such a stern ascetic as some of his critics represent there is abundant evidence. His broken courtships reveal a very tender side to his manhood. His niece Sarah told Adam Clarke that no human being was more alive to all the tender charities of domestic life. He rose at four and preached at five, but he would not allow her to be called up so early, and on a journey in her company the aged man would accept no comfort which she did not share. She states that "he always showed peculiar sympathy to young persons in love." A fellow feeling made him wondrous kind, as love-stricken Samuel Bradburn proved when Wesley appealed to Miss Betsy Nangle's reluctant guardian, whose reverence for Wesley could not allow a positive refusal, and quickly married the happy couple before breakfast on a bright midsummer

morning. Having heard that Bradburn was in straits, he forthwith inclosed in the following letter five one-pound notes:

"Dear Sammy: 'Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.' Yours affectionately,

JOHN WESLEY."

To this Bradburn answered:

"REV. AND DEAR SIR: I have often been struck with the beauty of the passage of Scripture quoted in your letter, but I must confess that I never saw such useful expository notes upon it before. I am, reverend and dear sir, your obedient and grateful servant,

S. Bradburn."

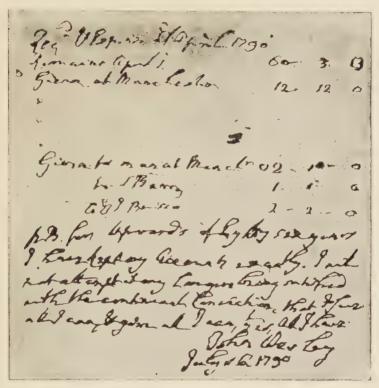
Of Wesley's wit and humor instances abound in his Journals and letters. Fenwick, a brother of very humble gifts, once in an evil hour complained that, although he traveled so much with Wesley, he was never mentioned in the published Journals. He had no reason to complain when the next Journal was published. "I left Epworth," writes Wesley, "with great satisfaction, and, about one, preached at Clayworth. I think none were unmoved but Michael Fenwick, who fell fast asleep under an adjoining hayrick." His anecdotes and racy sayings often supplied a tonic much needed by some of his itinerants. Indeed Thomas Walsh, who was given to extreme asceticism, once wrote to Wesley complaining, "Among three or four persons that tempt me to levity, you, sir, are one, by your witty proverbs." Wesley's wit finds literary expression in his Appeals in the form of irony and satire, and his preface to his dictionary is a masterpiece of pungent writing. Carlyle's description of Jean Paul Richter's humor might well be applied to Wesley's. Its essence is "sensibility, warm, tender fellow-feeling with all forms of existence." If Wesley could pierce with his wit, he could also heal with his humor.

He was naturally quick-tempered, and sometimes said sharp things, but he was yet quicker to apologize if he felt he had spoken too hastily and in anger. He was incapable of malice, and was marvelously ready to forgive his most cruel traducers and bitterest opponents. We find him receiving the sacrament from Bishop Lavington and sitting down to a cozy breakfast with his old Irish antagonist, Father O'Leary. Toward the end of his life his character began to be better understood by some of the clergymen and bishops who had opposed or stood aloof from him. There is a pleasant story of his meeting Bishop Lowth at dinner. The bishop refused to sit above Wesley at the table, saying, "Mr. Wesley, may I be found sitting at your feet in another world." Wesleystill declining to take precedence, the bishop asked him as a favor to sit above him, as he was deaf, and desired not to lose a sentence of Mr. Wesley's conversation. Wesley fully appreciated the courtesy, and wrote in his Journal: "Dined with Lowth, Bishop of London. His whole behavior was worthy of a Christian bishop—easy, affable, and courteous—and yet all his conversation spoke the dignity which was suitable to his character."

It must be admitted that Wesley was sometimes too ready to believe the marvelous, and that his guileless trustfulness of his fellow-men betrayed him into practical errors during his half century of labor. "My brother," said Charles Wesley, "was, I think, born for the benefit of knaves." He was too prone to take men and women at their own estimates. He attributed to the immediate interposition of Providence events which might reasonably be attributed to natural causes. He was too ready to regard the physical phenomena of the early years of the revival as spiritual signs, though he checked them when he was convinced of their imposture.

He was biased by the prejudices of his Church training. But it must be remembered, as Adam Clarke observes, that his prejudices to a remarkable extent gave way to the force of truth. There is a marked change, also, in his judgments as to himself and others in his later years. His severity toward imperfect but sincere Christians became softened, and his sermons and the notes in the late editions of his Journals show that he modified his severe estimate of his own early religious experiences. "No man," says Telford, "had a more candid mind than Wesley. He learned from everyone, and was learning till the last day of his life." Dr. Rigg has shown that Wesley "was one of the keenest and most skeptical of historical critics; and that, although he was eminently a man of action, he was by no means wanting either in the taste or capacity for philosophic study and reflection."

Southey, as we have seen, was convinced by Knox of his error in regarding selfish ambition as a leading feature in Wesley's character. Canon Overton truly says that "Knox knew Wesley intimately; Southey did not." Knox, who united wide culture with ardent piety, but who differed from Wesley in some of his opinions, speaks thus of his motives: "The slightest suspicion of pride, ambition, selfishness, or personal gratification of any kind stimulating Mr. Wesley in any instance, or mixing in any measure with the movements of his life, never once entered into my mind. That such charges were made by his opponents I could not be ignorant. But my deep impression remains unimpaired—that since the days of the apostles there has not been a human being more thoroughly exempt from all those frailties of human nature than John Wesley." "And this," says Overton, "is the unvarying strain of those who knew Wesley best." He was a born ruler of men, but he used his extraordinary power for no selfish ends. He ruled preachers and people with absolute authority, but he was no despot. He was the patriarch of his people, and they knew he spoke the truth when he said:



THE LAST ENTRY IN WESLEY'S ACCOUNT BOOK.

The concluding remark is to be read thus:

N B - For upwards of eighty-six years [Tyerman queries "sixty-eight"] I have kept my accounts exactly. I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction that I save all I can, and give all I can—that is, all I have.

[&]quot;The power I have I never sought; it was the unexpected result of the work which God was pleased to work by me. I therefore suffer it till I can find some one to ease me of my burden." When he heard that men said he was "shackling freeborn Englishmen," "making himself a pope," and exer-

cising arbitrary power, he replied with characteristic artlessness: "If you mean by arbitrary power a power which I exercise singly, without any colleague therein, this is certainly true; but I see no harm in it. Arbitrary in this sense is a very harmless word. I bear this burden merely for your sakes." He possessed, as Macaulay says, "a genius for government." Matthew Arnold ascribes to him "a genius for godliness." Southey considered him "a man of great views, great energies, and great virtues; the most influential mind of the last century; the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries or perhaps millenniums hence."

In America the irritation caused by Wesley's expression of his opinions during the Revolution had passed away before he died. Bishop Asbury in his Journal (April 29, 1791) refers to the death "of that dear man of God," and gives what Dr. Buckley well calls "probably the best estimate of his character and career." It is worth quoting here as well as in a later connection: "When we consider his plain and nervous writings, his uncommon talent for sermonizing and journalizing; that he had such a steady flow of animal spirits; so much of the spirit of government in him; his knowledge as an observer; his attainments as a scholar; his experience as a Christian; I conclude his equal is not to be found among all the sons he hath brought up, nor his superior among all the sons of Adam he may have left behind."



CHAPTER CXXIV

Critics and Caricaturists

THE JOURNALISM OF THE CENTURY.—HOGARTH'S CARTOONS.—CHANGE IN PUBLIC OPINION.—SOME FAMOUS MAGAZINES.—A VIRULENT DRAMA.

HE century that witnessed the rise of Methodism was notable for the development of the newspaper, the magazine, the essay, and the novel. We can only briefly glance at the references to Methodism in the public journals and the more permanent prose and poetical literature of the day.

The first daily newspaper, the Post Boy, of 1695, had only a brief existence. The first to be successfully established was the Daily Courant of 1702—the year before Wesley was born. The following half century saw a remarkable extension of journalistic enterprise, notwithstanding the duty imposed by the government, and 7,411,757 newspaper stamps were issued in 1753 for a population estimated at about 6,200,000. The news-writer—Johnson's "man without virtue, who writes lies at home for his own profit"—could greatly influence public opinion, not only in London, but in the provincial towns. Gossip, satires on fashion, poetry, and a very few reviews and leaders made up much of the "copy," and the letters of correspondents occupied an important place.

Wesley, as we have seen, was wide awake to the possibilities of journalism for good or evil, and some of his most powerful writing on public and social questions is found in his letters to public journals, especially in Lloyd's Evening Post and the Leeds Mercury.

The journalistic attacks on Methodism commenced in Fogg's Weekly Journal in 1732, and two months later the first defense of Methodism ever published appeared in pamphlet form as a reply. When the Great Revival began the daily and weekly press often contained scurrilous letters and reports which were tissues of falsehood. Wesley occasionally replied to them. In the Westminster Journal, 1761, Methodism was represented as "an ungoverned spirit of enthusiasm, propagated by knaves and embraced by fools." By it "the decency of religion had been perverted, the peace of families had been ruined, and the minds of the vulgar darkened to a total neglect of their civil and social duties." Wesley says: "I am almost ashamed to spend time on these threadbare objections, which have been answered over and over. But if they are advanced again, they must be answered again, lest silence should pass for guilt." The Weekly Miscellany of 1741 described Wesley as "a grand, empty, inconsistent heretic;" and for three months it had a series of articles of abuse so foul that it cannot be quoted. The Craftsman in 1745 said the Methodists were an "unaccountably strange sect, whose religion is founded on madness and folly," and so forth. At the urgent request of his friends Wesley replied to the Craftsman in a letter preserved in his works.

The most virulent abuse was reserved for Whitefield, whose humble origin and the occasional improprieties of his language made him a better target for the jesters than Wesley. The caricaturists, whose art came into vigorous play for political

purposes in the days of the Georges, followed the example of the journals. One of them represents Whitefield preaching in the open air, inspired by Satan, with Lady Huntingdon

by his side. Even Hogarth, whose pictured satires were, as a rule, on the side of virtue against vice, utterly misunderstood, and, therefore, misrepresented, Methodism. His picture entitled Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism represents Whitefield in the desk, with a couplet from a "Hymn by G. Whitefield"—really by Wesley. A thermometer representing the various degrees of "enthusiasm" in a Methodist's



CARICATURE OF WHITEFIELD.

brain adorns the right-hand corner of the picture. The barometer rests on Wesley's Sermons and Glanvil on Witches. "A new and correct Globe of Hell—by Romaine," forms part of the chandelier. The Jesuits, the Jews, the Moslems, and the Woman Impostor, Tofts of Godalming, all form part of the medley. For once, at least, the censor of folly and sin, whom Thackeray well calls "painter, engraver, philosopher," departed from the edict of his own rhyme, to which most of his great works were true:

Think not to find one meant resemblance here; We lash the vices, but the persons spare. Prints should be prized, as authors should be read, Who sharply smile prevailing folly dead. So Rabelais laughed, and so Cervantes thought; So nature dictated what art has taught.

It should be noted, however, that in one of Hogarth's cartoons, depicting the Idle and Industrious Apprentices, Thomas Idle is being carried to his doom at Tyburn in a cart, with Wesley by his side exhorting him to repentance. The word "Wesley" is inscribed upon a book held in the preacher's hand. This tribute to Wesley's philanthropy is more worthy of the great satirist, who, to have been accurate, should have depicted Wesley's noble helper, Silas Told, in the cart, and the Wesley brothers in a prison doing their self-sacrificing work.

To return to the news-writers: it is only fair to observe that during the last quarter of the century their estimate of Wesley and Methodism reflected the more just and favorable view which prevailed. On the morning after his déath the Public Advertiser printed a eulogistic article on the "celebrated minister and reformer whose eminent abilities in every branch of polite and sacred literature, being directed by the grace of God to the most important and valuable ends, not only rendered him the ornament of his own age and country, but will also endear his name to the latest posterity. . . . It may likewise be highly pleasing to his numerous friends to acquaint them that in his last moments he bore the most unshaken testimony to the evangelical truths he had maintained in the long course of his laborious ministry." On the following day the same paper said that "Wesley was distinguished for his efforts to enforce an obedience to the relative duties by showing what constitutes civil society, and how far each individual who composes it is interested in the common welfare." On the same day the Morning Chronicle summarized the chief events of Wesley's life, and concluded: "Whatever may be the opinions held of Mr. Wesley's divinity, it is impossible to deny him the merit of having done infinite good to the lower



CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF WESLEY.

Portrait engraved by Bromley for the European Magazine, April 1, 1791.

Reputed portrait of Wesley at the age of twenty-five.

Portrait by J. Tookey. Published April 2, 1791.

Portrait painted from life by Robert Hunter, 1765.

Wesley himself called it "a striking likeness,"



class of people. Abilities he unquestionably possessed, and a fluency which was highly acceptable and well accommodated to his hearers. His history if well written would certainly be important, for in every respect, as the founder of the most numerous sect in the kingdom, as a man, and as a writer, he must be considered as one of the most extraordinary characters this or any age has produced."

On the following Monday the Morning Chronicle announced: "Though John Wesley was a thin man, his bones will afford good picking to the biographers, a legion of whom are now brandishing their gray-goose quills about his life. Neither eloquence nor accuracy is at all requisite; the whole depends upon expedition, for the first oars will be sure of a silver badge."

The same change of tone is noteworthy in the leading magazines, the most famous of which was the Gentleman's Magazine, started by Edward Cave in 1731. It was not unlike the Review of Reviews of our own day, collecting and summarizing the best essays and articles from the London and provincial press. Its rival, the London Magazine, admitted a number of violent letters describing Methodism as "a spurious mixture of enthusiasm and blasphemy, popery and Quakerism." Both periodicals, however, gave Methodist writers full opportunity to defend themselves against the almost incredible ignorance and prejudice displayed by their critics.

When Wesley died the European Magazine published an excellent portrait of him, of which we give a copy, and the Gentleman's Magazine printed an able review of his work, worthy of a permanent place in literature:

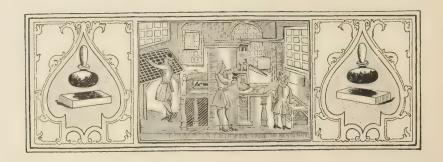
"Where much good is done we should not mark every little excess. The great point in which his name and mission will be honored is this: he directed his labors toward those who had no instructor; to the highways and hedges; to the miners in Cornwall and the colliers in Kingswood. These unhappy creatures married and buried amongst themselves, and often committed murders with impunity, before the Methodists sprang up. By the humane and active endeavors of him and his brother Charles a sense of decency, morals, and religion was introduced into the lowest classes of mankind. The ignorant were instructed, the wretched relieved, and the abandoned reclaimed.

"He met with great opposition from many of the clergy and unhandsome treatment from the magistrates. He was, however, one of the few characters who outlived enmity and prejudice, and received in his latter years every mark of respect from every denomination. . . . On a review of the character of this extraordinary man it appears that, though he was endowed with eminent talents, he was more distinguished by their use than even by their possession; though his taste was classic and his manners elegant, he sacrificed that society in which he was particularly calculated to shine, gave up those preferments which his abilities must have obtained, and devoted a long life in practicing and enforcing the plainest duties. Instead of being 'an ornament to literature,' he was a blessing to his fellow-creatures; instead of the 'genius of the age,' he was 'the servant of God!'"

It is painful to turn from this eloquent tribute to the references to Methodism in the dramatic literature of the period. Many of these are so foul, profane, and slanderous as to be unfit for quotation. Samuel Foote satirized Whitefield in his comedy "The Minor," representing the Methodists generally as "the most immoral of any class," and in his "Devil upon Two Sticks" the devil proposes to a young man a number of

trades in which he might succeed. After several refusals he says: "What say you, then, to a little spiritual quackery? . . . How should you like mounting a cart on a common and becoming a Methodist preacher? . . . If I was not the devil, I would choose to be a Methodist preacher."

Archbishop Secker protested against the performance of "The Minor" at Drury Lane. Lady Huntingdon besought the lord chamberlain to suppress it, and had an interview with Garrick, who professed to be offended with the comedy. yet permitted it to be acted in his own theater. Even the Monthly Review, then unfavorable to Methodism, raised a protest, declared the satire on Whitefield to be unjust, and said, "The impudence of our low, dirty, hedge-publishers is risen to a most shameful height." The Rev. Martin Madan wrote a powerful pamphlet, A Letter to David Garrick, Esq., in which he said, "I blush for my countrymen when I recollect that this vile stuff was attended in the Haymarket by crowded audiences for above thirty nights, and that with applause, whereas it was dismissed, with deserved abhorrence, after being one night only offered to the people of Ireland at one of their theaters." In the Edinburgh theater its indecency so shocked the audience that only ten women ventured to appear at its second performance. Its performance at Drury Lane left a stain on the otherwise honorable name of David Garrick. Wesley respected Garrick's gifts, and when he read a story of his throwing a copy of Charles Wesley's hymn book into the sea, wrote: "I cannot believe it. I think Mr. G. has more sense. He knew my brother well; and he knew him to be not only far superior in learning, but in poetry, to Mr. Thomson and all his theatrical writers put together; none of them can equal him, either in strong, nervous sense or purity and elegance of language."



CHAPTER CXXV

Methodism in Eighteenth Century Literature

HORACE WALPOLE'S LETTERS.—FROM POPE TO COWPER.—ESSAYISTS AND NOVELISTS.—"POOR DOCTOR SMOLLETT."

T could hardly be expected that Methodism could find much more favor with the literary epicure and sparkling letter-writer, Horace Walpole, than it did with the caricaturists and playwrights. But the brilliant worldling must not be taken too seriously. "His features were covered by mask within mask," says Macaulay. "When the outer disguise of obvious affectation was removed you were still as far as ever from seeing the real man." He treated Hannah More with wondrous courtesy, and he laughed at her behind her back as "Holy Hannah." We have seen him among Whitefield's aristocratic hearers. In 1766 he heard Wesley in the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel in Bath, and describes him as "a clean, elderly man, fresh-colored, his hair smoothly combed, but with a little soupçon of curl at the ends." Parts of the sermon he regarded as very eloquent, but toward the end the preacher "exalted his voice and acted very ugly enthusiasm, decried learning, and told stories." In a later letter Walpole puts Calvin, Wesley, and the pope on a level. Power and wealth, he says, are their objects, and he abhors them both.



PAINTED BY J. JACKSON, R.A.

ENGRAVED BY J. COCHRAN.

JOHN WESLEY.



Among the poets, Pope, in the Dunciad, led the way in satirizing Whitefield:

So swells each windpipe: ass intones to ass, Harmonic twang! of leather, horn, and brass: Such as from laboring lungs the enthusiast blows, High sounds attempered to the vocal nose; Or such as bellow from the deep divine: There, Webster! pealed thy voice, and, Whitefield! thine.

Pope was a Roman Catholic, and could not be expected to be much in sympathy with Methodism, though his friendship with Samuel Wesley, Jr., and his admiration of the rector of Epworth's book on Job may have restrained his attacks on the Wesleys.

The brilliant debauchee and clergyman, Charles Churchill, Hogarth's "Wilkes's toad echo," might have been expected to lampoon Whitefield, whom he styles "the canting tabernacle brother!" Poor Thomas Chatterton also, in 1769, wrote a long poem in which he describes the whining piety of the Methodists generally, and the cant, vulgarity, and interestedness of Whitefield in particular. In his poem called The Methodist are the following lines:

'Tis very odd, These representatives of God, In color, way of life, and evil, Should be so very like the devil.

It is pleasanter to note that after this he wrote his matchless Ballade of Charitie, and, sad to remember, that in 1770, at the age of eighteen, this "prodigy of genius," penniless, starving, yet too proud to accept the meal his landlady offered him, died by his own hand, and was buried in the paupers' pit of the Shoe Lane Workhouse.

We have already seen George Crabbe listening to Wesley at Lowestoft, and admiring his impressive quotation from Anacreon. Byron, Scott, Tennyson, Swinburne, all admired the poet of East Anglia. "Though nature's sternest painter, yet the best," was Byron's verdict upon him. His greatest work, The Borough, belongs properly to the next century. In an unusually dramatic style he mildly satirizes the two schools of Methodists, the Calvinian and the Arminian, in passages too long for quotation here. The strenuous labor and fervor of the Methodists did not recommend them to the gentle country clergyman, who loved a quiet life—botanizing and fossil-hunting, with an occasional visit to London and its best society.

John Byrom, the friend of the Wesleys, may almost be regarded as a Methodist poet, although his devotion to the later mysticism of William Law and the fascination of Jacob Behmen estranged him from his old comrades. In 1751 he versified the views of Law in an essay in heroic rhyme, entitled Enthusiasm. Professor Gosse considers him "one of the most interesting provincial figures of the time." His Journal, his poems in the Spectator, his hymn, "Christians, Awake!" in the Wesleyan Methodist Hymn Book, and his system of shorthand, adopted by the Wesleys, are his chief memorials.

William Cowper, whose first poems were among the Olney Hymns, with John Newton's, is preeminently the evangelical poet as well as the father of a new school of nature poetry. His lines on Whitefield have been quoted. He describes Wesley as

> A veteran warrior in the Christian field, Who never saw the sword he could not wield; Grave without dullness, learnéd without pride, Exact, yet not precise, though meek, keen-eyed; A man that would have foiled at their own play A dozen would-be's of the modern day; Who, when occasion justified its use, Had wit as bright as ready to produce;

Could fetch from records of an earlier age, Or from Philosophy's enlightened page, His rich materials, and regale your ear With strains it was a privilege to hear: Yet above all, his luxury supreme And his chief glory, was the Gospel theme. There he was copious as old Greece or Rome; His happy eloquence seemed there at home: Ambitious not to shine or to excel, But to treat justly what he loved so well.

A truer description of Wesley's preaching was never penned. Sir Walter Scott was fretting his heart in his father's

"weary office" when Wesley died, and his literary work belongs to a later period; but he heard the great evangelist, and gives an interesting reminiscence in a letter to Southey in 1819: "When I was about twelve years old I heard Wesley preach, more than once. standing on a chair in Kelso churchyard. He was a most venerable figure, but his sermons were vastly



WALTER SCOTT, AGED SIX YEARS.

too colloquial for the taste of Saunders. He told many excellent stories; one I remember which he said had happened to him at Edinburgh. 'A drunken dragoon,' said Wesley, 'was commencing an assertion in military fashion

... just as I was passing. I touched the poor man on the shoulder, and when he turned round fiercely, said calmly, "You mean, God bless you." In the mode of telling the story he failed not to make us sensible how much his patriarchal appearance and mild yet bold rebuke overawed the soldier, who touched his hat, thanked him, and, I think, came to chapel that evening."

Among the greater prose-writers, Samuel Johnson, as we have seen, was an admirer of Wesley's powers as a conversationalist. He disliked Whitefield, though he admitted he had done good, and he perversely defended the expulsion from St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, of the six Methodist students in 1763.

Goldsmith had the common prejudice against the "enthusiasm" of the Methodists, so called. He could not have known much of the Wesleys, Fletcher, and Romaine or he would not have felt it necessary to wish for them that they had been "bred gentlemen," endued with "even the meanest share of understanding." But in one of his essays he says: "Our regular divines may borrow instruction even from Methodists. . . . Even Whitefield may be placed as a model to some of our young divines; let them join to their own good sense his earnest manner of delivery." In Junius's Letters reference is made to the "whining piety" of Whitefield.

The evolution of the novel was a chief literary feature of the century. Among the greater novelists was Richardson, who objects to the Methodists as "overdoers," who "put underdoers out of heart." Fielding makes his Parson Adams contrast his own preaching favorably with Whitefield's, though he was "once his well-wisher. . . . I am myself as great an enemy to the luxury and splendor of the clergy as he can be. Surely those things which savor so strongly of this world

become not the servants of One who professed his kingdom was not of it. . . . But when Whitefield began to call non-sense and enthusiasm to his aid . . . I was his friend no longer." Smollett satirizes the Methodists in his picture of the footman in Humphrey Clinker.

Smollett, as an historian, writes of Methodism in his History of England (1766): "Imposture and fanaticism still hang upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusions of a superstition styled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity and pretensions to divine illuminations." Wesley's comment upon this is characteristic. "Poor Doctor Smollett!" he exclaims, "thus to transmit to all succeeding generations a whole heap of notorious falsehoods!"

Tindal, in his Continuation of Rapin's History (1763), records that "this year (1739) was distinguished by the institution of a set of fanatics under the name of Methodists, of which one Whitefield (sic), a young clergyman, was the founder."

It was left to Sir James Stephen, Macaulay, Green, and Lecky, in the succeeding century, to assign to Methodism a more just and honorable place in history, and Anglican writers of different schools, like Canon Overton, Bishop Ryle, and Dean Spence, fully recognize the close connection between Methodism and evangelicalism in the Established Church.

"The Wesleyan movement made little impression on the literary circles to whom Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon had communicated their gospel of nature. The poets continued to sing, the essayists to write, and the philosophers to speculate, in a world peculiarly their own. They shut themselves quite in from the itinerant 'helpers of Wesley.' Those who stood aloof from all ecclesiastical organizations, and failed to see any higher cause of the revival than mere 'enthusiasm,' were the persons whom these writers still influenced."



CHAPTER CXXVI

John Newton, of Olney, and the Later Evangelicals

HENRY VENN'S EVENTIDE.—THE ROMANCE OF NEWTON'S LIFE.—COWPER AND HIS INFLUENCE.—SCOTT THE COMMENTATOR, MILNER THE HISTORIAN, AND THEIR FRIENDS.

In our chapter on the "Evangelical Pioneers" we have touched upon the difficulty of distinguishing between "Methodists" and "evangelicals" during the lifetime of Wesley, and before the Methodist Church system was fully organized. There is no difficulty with the clergy like Dr. Coke, who abandoned parochial work, and others who ministered at City Road Chapel. Fletcher and Grimshaw remained in their parishes, but they built chapels and formed Methodist societies which remain to this day. Grimshaw, like Charles Wesley, protested vehemently against separation from the State Church, but, like the poet, he practically separated by preaching in meetinghouses, adopting the circuit "round," and visiting the Methodist societies.

But there were others whose position was less clearly defined, and, as Canon Overton says, to the very close of the eighteenth century Methodists and evangelicals were so inextricably mixed up that it is impossible to separate one from the other. The attempt on the part of some later evangelicals or "Low Churchmen" to disavow their Methodist ances-

try merited the rebuke of Sir James Stephen: "The consanguinity is attested by historical records and by the strongest family resemblance. The quarterings of Whitefield are entitled to a place in the 'evangelical' escutcheon; and they who bear it are not wise in being ashamed of the blazoning.

... They were the sons, by natural or spiritual birth, of men who, in the earlier days of Methodism, had shaken off the lethargy in which till then the Church of England had been entranced."

"Before the close of the century," says Lecky, "the evangelical movement had become dominant in England, and it continued the almost undisputed center of religious life till the rise of the Tractarian movement in 1830. But, beyond all other men, it was John Wesley to whom this work was due."

Henry Venn, who died six years after his friend Wesley, has already been noticed as an author and evangelist. His son and biographer, John Venn, a type of the later evangelical, betrays the weakness of his school by writing apologetically: "Induced by the hope of doing good, my father, in certain instances, preached in unconsecrated places. But having acknowledged this, it becomes my pleasing duty to state that he was no advocate of irregularity in others."

Bishop Ryle tells a beautiful story of old Henry Venn taking to his heart and home a motherless child of three. The first thing he found out was that the child was afraid of the dark; so that very evening he took him by the hand into his study, and, with his arm around him, told the timid boy so wonderful a story out of the Bible as to make the child forget all beside. "To-morrow," said the venerable man, "you will like to sit by me in the dark without holding my hand." This point gained, a separate seat was chosen the next night, and

by the close of winter the child had entirely forgotten his fears of the dark, nor did they ever return to him; and in after life his own children and grandchildren heard him repeat, scores of times, the saying of Henry Venn, "Remember, little John, if anything could make heaven not heaven to me, it would be the not having you with me there."

A man of widely different training, but equally tender-hearted, was John Newton; who, says Sir James Stephen, "held himself forth, and was celebrated by others, as the greatest living example of the regenerating efficacy of the principles of his school"—just as Venn was their systematic teacher of "complete duty," Scott their interpreter of Scripture, and Milner their ecclesiastical historian.

John Newton's mother had prayed from his infancy that he might become a preacher of the Gospel, but she "died in faith, not having received the promise." He had little schooling, for, when a boy of eleven, he joined his father, who was master of a trading ship, and sailed under him for six years. Then he was pressed into the naval service on board a manof-war, and was made a midshipman. Under the influence of a stray volume of Shaftesbury's Characteristics and a skeptical companion he "plunged into infidelity" and became reckless in conduct. For an attempt to desert his ship he was placed in irons, publicly whipped, and degraded from his rank. Near Madeira he was, by a mere accident, exchanged for another sailor from an African trader. Then he entered the service of a slave dealer, and landing on the West Coast, he became himself practically a slave to this brutal master. Prostrated with fever, he suffered from the cruelty of a black woman who was the slaver's mistress. His appetite returning, he crawled by night into the plantations, pulling up roots, and eating them raw upon the spot for fear of discovery. The



A GROUP OF EVANGELICALS.

REV. JOHN NEWTON. REV. RICHARD CECIL. REV. HENRY VENN. Rev. Thomas Scott. Rev. Isaac Milner. John Thornton.



"black slaves of the chain" pitied him and secretly relieved him.

He had one book—Barrow's edition of Euclid. "It was always with me," he writes, "and I used to take it to remote corners of the island, by the seaside, and draw my diagrams with a stick upon the sand." He thus mastered the first six books of geometry. His father at last heard of his condition and arranged with a friendly captain for his return to England. On the voyage home he challenged his companions to a drinking competition in gin and rum. Dancing on the deck, like a madman, he lost his hat overboard and tried to spring into the ship's boat to recover it. The boat was twenty feet from the ship, it was night, the tide was running strong, his companions were drunk, and the rest of the ship's company were below. At the critical moment a rough hand caught him by the neck and he was dragged back on the deck.

Among the few books on board was Stanhope's Thomas à Kempis. He carelessly took it up, and as he glanced at its contents the thought occurred to him, "What if these things should be true!" A terrible storm arose and a cry was raised that the ship was sinking. Rushing on deck, he met the captain, who sent him below for a knife. Another man who ran up to take his place was instantly washed overboard. For four weeks the vessel, almost a wreck, was at the mercy of the winds and waves. Provisions ran short and the weather was bitterly cold. The sailors regarded Newton as their "Jonah," and threatened to throw him overboard. While standing at the wheel at midnight his past life rose up before him and he was led to cry, "My mother's God, the God of mercy, have mercy upon me!" Before reaching port he renounced his infidelity and his swearing and dissolute habits.

He next sailed to Guinea and the West Indies as mate on a Liverpool slaver. While yet a lad he had conceived a romantic affection for a young girl, the daughter of friends of his mother. All through his life of adventure he had cherished the hope of making her his wife, and in 1750 they were married. A captain taught him more clearly the way of faith in Christ, and he kept a diary which opened in these words: "I dedicate unto thee, most blessed God, this clean, unsullied book, and at the same time renew my tender of a foul, blotted, corrupt heart."

In 1755 Newton left the sea and became a tide-surveyor at Liverpool. He had become a diligent student, obtained some knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and found increasing delight in the Scriptures. He says: "I thought I was, above most living, a fit person to proclaim that faithful saying, that 'Jesus Christ came into the world to save the chief of sinners;' and as my life had been full of remarkable turns, I was in hopes that perhaps sooner or later he might call me to his service."

Newton became a hearer and friend of Whitefield, and corresponded with Wesley, who took up his cause when he sought to enter the Church. In this step he was opposed by bishops and clergy, who disliked his "Methodism." He commenced his ministry among the Congregationalists at Warwick, but receiving the offer of the curacy of Olney from Lord Dartmouth, he was ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln. For sixteen years he was curate of Olney, and was then presented by Mr. John Thornton to the living of St. Mary Woolnoth in London.

Newton will ever be remembered as the friend of Cowper. Southey has charged him with aggravating the poet's morbid tendencies. But this is unjust to the rugged but tenderhearted sailor man, whose sense of humor and robust character made his companionship a wholesome tonic for the gentle poet. He was a Calvinist, but he had never "swallowed Calvin whole, at a mouthful," and there is not the slightest evidence that his Calvinism troubled Cowper.

Some of Newton's Olney Hymns are found not only in hymnals of the evangelical type, but in those so widely separated in doctrine as Hymns Ancient and Modern, and Dr. Martineau's Hymns of Praise and Prayer. His best known hymn is

How sweet the name of Jesus sounds,

which some have thought must have been suggested by Bernard's Jesu dulcis memoria. In all probability Newton did not know of the earlier hymn of the saintly monk of Clairvaux, but wrote prompted solely by ardent love to Jesus Christ.

Newton's prose works (Omicron's Letters and Cardiphonia) are but little read to-day, but his vigorously written Authentic Narrative of Some Interesting and Remarkable Particulars in his Own Life is worthy of a place not far away from Bunyan's Grace Abounding and Augustine's Confessions. "He had," says Leslie Stephen, "no dread of the world's judgment, which leads most men to shrink from uttering their darkest and holiest secrets." Richard Cecil, Jay of Bath, Joseph Milner, and William Wilberforce all owed much to "Newton of Olney."

William Cowper (1731–1800) has been quoted as the greatest poet, in the wider literary sense—as distinguished from Charles Wesley the greatest religious lyrist—of the closing century. He was avowedly an evangelical, and his best work is never merely "art for art's sake." His poetry, as we have noted, not only marks a great change in its relation to the

subject of nature; its relation to the subject of man is equally great. He is the noble herald of the humanitarian poets, himself a worthy chief among them. "All the social questions of education, prisons, hospitals, city and country life, the state of the poor and their sorrow, the questions of universal freedom and of slavery, of human wrong and oppression, of just and free government, of international intercourse and union, and, above all, the entirely new question of the future destiny of the race as a whole, are introduced by Cowper into English poetry."

His influence on the philanthropic leaders of the new age was very marked, and the Anglican historian of the century truly says that he convinced the world that the evangelical system was not incompatible with true genius, ripe scholarship, sparkling wit, and a refined and cultivated taste.

John Thornton, merchant and philanthropist, the friend and patron of Newton, was one of the group of wealthy laymen who rendered noble service to the evangelical cause. His son, Henry Thornton, as a member of Parliament associated with Wilberforce, must be noted later.

Thomas Scott the commentator (1746–1821) was the spiritual son and successor of Newton in the curacy of Olney. His Force of Truth describes the mental struggle through which he passed from Socinianism to evangelical faith. His Commentary had an immense sale in England, and larger still in America, but he lived and died a poor man, wronged by his publishers and unpopular with his parishioners. He protested in heroic style against the perversions of Calvinism, both at Olney and afterward, as chaplain, at the London Lock Hospital. Newton had been sorely troubled by the way in which Calvinists had "learned to abuse Gospel notions to stupefy their consciences." Scott did not possess the humor

and geniality of Newton, and had a dull style of preaching and writing. "Some things," he writes, "requisite for popularity, I would not have if I could, and others I could not have if I would." But he warred a good warfare for Christian morality against all who made the doctrines of grace a cloak for evil living.

Richard Cecil (1748–1810) was the friend of Newton and Scott, and the biographer of the former. He was, perhaps, the most refined, dignified, and liberal-minded of all the evangelical clergy. His Remains show him to be master of a style the opposite of Scott's. He writes: "Both food and medicine are injurious if administered scalding hot. The spirit of a teacher often effects more than his matter. Benevolence is a universal language, and it will apologize for a multitude of defects in the man who speaks it." It was Cecil who said, "Attend to the presence of God; this will dignify a small congregation and annihilate a large one."

Joseph Milner, the Church historian (1744–1797), was a close friend of Wesley's, whom he welcomed to his pulpits and defended against the objecting bishop, declaring that he knew not a single clergyman in Lancashire "that would give the Church's definition of faith and stand to it." He told the bishop of the Bolton barber who said to Wesley: "Sir, I praise God on your behalf. When you were at Bolton last I was one of the greatest drunkards in the town; but I came to listen at the window, God struck me to the heart, and twelve months ago I was converted."

Milner's Church History, heavy in style, but excellent in plan, was completed by his brother, Isaac Milner, the only early evangelical who was permitted to attain high ecclesiastical position, except Bishop Porteus, who was not so pronounced a "Methodist." At Cambridge Isaac Milner became president of Queen's College, and, finally, Dean of Carlisle. He may be regarded as the founder of the Cambridge evangelical school, of which Charles Simeon became the best known representative, as another chapter must tell.

The scholarly Thomas Robinson, of Leicester (1749–1813), roused great opposition by his "Methodistical" views. His tutor and friend, Mr. Postlethwaite, besought him to beware, and to consider what mischief the Methodists were doing and at what a vast rate they were increasing. "Sir," said Robinson, "what do you mean by a Methodist? Explain, and I will tell you whether I am one or not." This caused a puzzle and a pause. At last the tutor said: "I'll tell you. I hear that in the pulpit you impress on the minds of your hearers that they are to attend to your doctrine from the consideration that you will have to give an account of them, and of your treatment of them, at the day of judgment." "I am surprised to hear this objected," rejoined Robinson. "It is true." The tutor made no further explanation, but remarked that the increase of Methodism was an alarming thing!

These evangelicals and their successors, as we shall see, not only established a new party within the State Church, but exercised a lasting influence upon the nation, and took part in founding the great societies which were to sound the new evangel over the whole earth.



CHAPTER CXXVII

The Rising Tide of Philanthropy

THE ENLISTMENT OF THE LAITY.—THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—THE WORK OF WILBERFORCE AND THE "CLAPHAM SECT."—HANNAH MORE'S GOOD WORK.—THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.—THE STRANGERS' FRIEND SOCIETY.—THE EFFECT UPON THE NATION.

THE enlistment of the laity in the service of Christ and humanity was one of the most striking results of the Methodist revival. When the Methodist Church emerged from the restrictions of Anglican Church order and custom it reaped larger results from the work of laymen within its borders than the awakened Established Church; but some of the evangelical laity who adhered to the Establishment rank among the greatest benefactors of the race.

We have marked the deep interest which Wesley took in the abolition of the slave trade, and in the early work of Granville Sharpe and Wilberforce. Without forgetting the noble efforts of the Quakers, of Sharpe and Clarkson, of the great rival statesmen Pitt and Burke, of Lord Grenville, Fowell Buxton, Earl Grey, and Henry Brougham, it is generally admitted that it was to the unflagging energy of Wilberforce that the final success of the movement was due, after a struggle of twenty years. In Parliament he boldly con-

fessed himself an evangelical; and his most efficient helper, Henry Thornton, M.P., and Zachary Macaulay, and their circle—jestingly called the Clapham Sect—were of the same school. The Abolition Bill was passed in 1807, and put an end to the traffic in slaves, but it was not until 1833, when Wilberforce was dying, that the Emancipation Bill was passed and Parliament granted £20,000,000 to compensate the planters in the colonies for the loss of their slaves. Thirty years later slavery was abolished among the Anglo-Saxon peoples on both sides of the Atlantic.

Wilberforce influenced national sentiment and Parliament not only in relation to the slave trade. He was never to be found sleeping when any question trenching on public decorum or the interests of religion came before the legislature. He was regarded as a vigilant protector of public morals and public rights. A letter has recently been published which he wrote to the under secretary of state during the Reign of Terror, in 1798, in which he appeals on behalf of some Jersey Methodists "who have been treated with harshness not more cruel than ill-timed" because they objected to being drilled on Sunday. "Many of them," he says, "men of character and substance, have been imprisoned," and "the states of the island are passing an act to banish all who will not give way." "I feel this business to be of such great importance that I would rather come up to London . . . than that it should suffer from the want of any assistance I could give to it if I were on the spot."

In 1812 we find Wilberforce and James Stephen (another member of the Clapham Sect) supporting a bill for the relief of Methodist local preachers from their liability to suffer under persecuting laws of the times of the Stuarts, which were still in force. It seems incredible to us now that at one

time Wilberforce himself lived constantly in the expectation—we will not say fear—of indictments for holding prayer meetings and religious services at his house in Kensington Gore. Lord Barham, the father of the Rev. Baptist Noel,



WILBERFORCE.

was fined £40 on two informations of his neighbor, the Earl of Romney, for a breach of the statute in like services.

The aim of Wilberforce's famous book is suggested by its full title, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Systems of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, Contrasted with Real Christianity. No one was more astonished than Wilberforce's publisher at

its rapid success. As the work of an eminent layman, a statesman, and parliamentary debater it aroused intense interest, and its simple earnestness and modesty touched many hearts among those who accepted the Christian creeds, but did not lead the Christian life. It "fell like a bombshell among these inconsistent Christians."

Dr. Stoughton correctly regards Wilberforce's work as supplementing that of Wesley: "Wesley's mission was to the poor; but there was needed some reformer who should raise his voice in high places, and do within the Church and near the throne what Wesley had accomplished in the humble meetinghouse and among the multitude."

Sir James Stephen has described the group of evangelical philanthropists who lived on "the confines of the villa-cinctured Common of Clapham;" now a part of Greater London. At Henry Thornton's house, "at the close of each succeeding day, there drew together a group of playful children, and with them a knot of legislators rehearsing some approaching debate, or travelers from distant lands, or circumnavigators of the worlds of literature and science." Here they discussed their cosmopolitan projects for the good of their fellows, and the noble enterprises of the new century were heartily supported by the members of the so-called Clapham Sect.

Methodism, while not neglecting organization, had proclaimed the preeminence of personal religion over ecclesiastical order and custom. Out of this idea arose another—that men may differ in their views of Church order and yet be one in spiritual experience. This created a new possibility for the association of Christian men of different Churches in evangelistic work. Sacerdotal Anglicanism, as we shall see, declines this form of catholicism, and the modern High Churchman is a rigid sectary. But, from the first, evangelic-

als and Methodists have united on the platforms of the great evangelical societies.

Among these is the Religious Tract Society. A hundred years before this society was founded Dr. Bray, the virtual



DRAWN BY G. WILLARD BONTE.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH
BIRTHPLACE OF WILBERFORCE, AT HULL.

originator of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is said to have "sent to America upward of thirty-four thousand books and tracts to be dispersed among the inhabitants." Wesley and Coke, as we have noted, founded a tract society in 1782. Hannah More had been doing good work by publishing a series of Cheap Repository Tracts, two millions of which were sold in one year. One of the best of these was the story of the Methodist Shepherd of Salisbury Plain. Before she became the "Holy Hannah" of Walpole's wit she was welcomed in the literary circle of Johnson, Burke, Garrick, and Reynolds, who were all her friends, and, indeed, after she became "tainted with Methodism" she was as

friendly with them as ever. Her later books as well as her popular tracts did much to promote the evangelical movement.

The Religious Tract Society was founded in 1799 by the Rev. George Burder, a Congregationalist of Coventry. The Rev. Joseph Hughes, a Baptist professor of Battersea, was secretary. Dr. Steinkopff, a Lutheran, took up the work on the European continent. The Rev. Rowland Hill was the first president. The first tract was written by the Rev. David Bogue, whose name is also associated with the beginning of the London Missionary Society. His Essay on the Inspiration of the New Testament was in the possession of Napoleon Bonaparte at the time of his death, and several passages were marked by his pencil. The Rev. Legh Richmond, the author of The Dairyman's Daughter, was one of the early secretaries. In 1899 the society celebrated its centenary. It has proved true to its first principles—maintaining its evangelicalism, developing its missionary agencies, aiding all the Churches. The seed of a century ago has become a mighty tree, the leaves of which are for the healing of the nations. In its first year it only sent forth two hundred thousand of thirty-four different publications. In the ninety-eighth year of its existence it issued, from the various depositories throughout the world, nearly sixty million copies—that is, between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and thirty every minute—in two hundred and twentysix different languages and dialects.

The Strangers' Friend Society, founded by Wesley and Adam Clarke in 1789 for the relief not of Church members, but of the neglected sick and poor outside the Churches, still continues its work of mercy, and holds its annual meeting in the Lord Mayor's Mansion House, London. It has been the model of several other philanthropic societies. "The noblest

result of the religious revival," says the English historian, J. R. Green, "was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor." This warrants the statement of the American Methodist historian, Dr. Abel Stevens, that those splendid ameliorations could not have taken place without the popular improvements introduced by Methodism; that the Methodist influence as experienced by the good men of Clapham gave them their effective power; that the reformed moral sense of the nation, responding to the Christian appeals of these great and good men, secured the triumph and permanence of their political reforms; and that when the Church itself was impotent Methodism effectively acted, through it and through dissent, to reclaim, if not to save, the nation. To this may be added the testimony of Lecky: "The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect, extending over both hemispheres and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, and upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history."



CHAPTER CXXVIII

The World-wide Results of the Revival

THE FIRST TWO BIBLE SOCIETIES.—THE BIBLE FAMINE IN WALES.—
TYNDALE REDIVIVUS.—ADAM CLARKE AS TRANSLATOR.—THE EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.—HENRY MARTYN AND SIMEON OF
CAMBRIDGE.—HIGH ANGLICAN OPPOSITION.

HE first Bible society in Great Britain was founded in 1779 by two Methodists, John Davies and George Cussons, members of Wesley's society at West Street Chapel, London. John Davies, who was a marble carver, proposed to his friend Cussons "to distribute a small pocket Bible to a few privates in every company of regulars or militia." John Thornton encouraged the scheme and sent £220 toward it, by the hands of William Romaine, and the idea took shape as "The Naval and Military Bible Society." The first packet of Bibles was sent out from the vestry of West Street Chapel, and in this chapel the first collection for a Bible society ever made in England was received after a sermon by the Rev. B. B. Collins, one of Wesley's clerical preachers. His striking text was: "The Philistines were afraid; for they said, God is come into the camp. . . . Woe unto us! for there hath not been such a thing heretofore." During the Gordon Riots of 1780 the soldiers encamped in Hyde Park were supplied with Bibles. John Newton, Row-1184

land Hill, Bishop Horne, and William Wilberforce promoted the work, and in later days the Duke of Wellington appeared as president. Within twenty years from its foundation it had circulated thirty thousand copies of the Bible, and it still continues its special work.

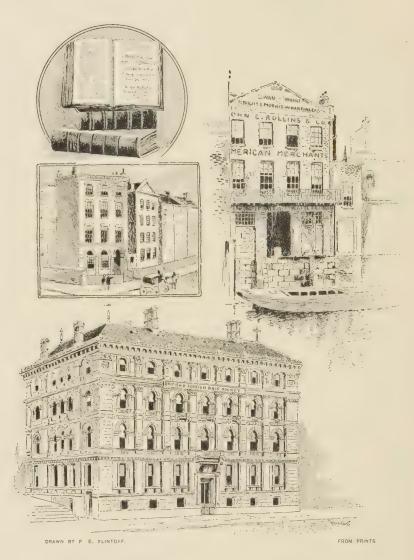
The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804 to do for the world at large what the first society was doing for sailors and soldiers. Its magnificent mission was also the fruit of Methodism. Its founder was Thomas Charles, of Bala, to whom we have referred as the reorganizer of the Calvinistic Methodist Church in Wales. Like his spiritual father—Daniel Rowlands—he had, to his great regret, been forced out of parochial work in the Church of England to become an agent in the Great Revival, and he was now a Methodist minister. He was distinguished not only for his preaching, but for his establishment of "circulating" schools and Sunday schools. He had been distressed by the scarcity of Bibles in Wales, and one incident which he related at a committee meeting of the Religious Tract Society had deeply touched him. Meeting a little girl, Mary Jones, who was one of his flock, he asked if she could tell him the text from which he had preached on Sunday. Instead of promptly answering him, according to her wont, she remained silent; and on his pressing her she wept, but still said nothing. At length, amid her sobs, she replied:

"The weather, sir, has been so bad that I could not get to read the Bible."

Astonished at this unexpected and extraordinary reply, he said:

"Could you not get to read the Bible? How was that?"

He then found out the explanation. As she could not obtain the sight of a copy among her neighbors and friends, she



MARY JONES'S FIRST WELSH BIBLE. THAMES STREET HOUSE, WHERE THE OLD BIBLE HOUSE, LONDON. BIBLE SOCIETY WAS FORMED.

• PRESENT BUILDING OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

had been at the pains of walking a distance of seven miles, once a week, to a place where she could find a Welsh Bible in which she could read the chapter from which the minister had taken his text: During the previous week the weather had been so cold and stormy that she could not take her usual walk.

Mr. Charles appealed to the committee of the Tract Society for help in forming a Bible society for Wales, and it occurred to the secretary, Joseph Hughes, "If for Wales, why not also for the empire, and the world!" A resolution was passed, and a meeting was held later, at which Granville Sharpe presided. The noble Clapham Sect promoted the work. Lord Teignmouth, one of their number, became the first president. Wilberforce lent his powerful advocacy at the first public meeting, and soon Mr. Charles carried a Welsh edition of the Bible through the press.

An eyewitness describes the reception of the New Testaments in the town of Bala. "When the arrival of the cart which carried the first sacred load," he says, "was announced, the Welsh peasants went out in crowds to meet it, welcomed it as the Israelites did the ark of old, drew it into the town, and eagerly bore off every copy as rapidly as they could be dispersed. The young people were to be seen consuming the whole night in reading it. Laborers carried it with them to the fields that they might enjoy it during the intervals of their labor and lose no opportunity of becoming acquainted with its sacred truths." "Tyndale's heart, could he have witnessed it, would have leaped for joy at this scene."

A London Methodist—Joseph Butterworth, M.P.—and Adam Clarke were soon placed on the committee. Dr. Clarke rendered great service. He constructed types of wonderful neatness and finish for a Tartar New Testament, a work for

which he resolutely declined any remuneration. In 1807 he was allowed to stay in London, against the usage of the Wesleyan Conference, at the earnest request of the Bible Society,



REV. THOMAS CHARLES, OF BALA.

The founder of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

as his assistance was "indispensably necessary for furnishing various heathen and Mohammedan nations with the Scriptures in their own languages." Since that time Wesleyan missionaries have done valuable work for the society as translators, collections have been made throughout England and

Ireland, the sum of £1,000 was granted from the Centenary Fund, and an annual sermon on behalf of the society is preached at City Road Chapel. The society, on the other hand, has furnished the Wesleyan missionary societies with vast numbers of copies of various versions. In 1842 ten thousand Maori New Testaments were sent to New Zealand, and were received by the natives with acclamations of joy. The society now issues nearly four millions of copies of Bibles and portions each year, and since its foundation, in 1804, has circulated over one hundred and fifty millions of copies.

The union in this work of Christians whose doctrinal differences had kept them apart for ages would have delighted the "catholic spirit" of Wesley had he lived to witness it. It profoundly impressed one evangelical clergyman on the first committee, John Owen, who says: "The scene was new; nothing analogous to it had perhaps been exhibited before the public since Christians had begun to organize amongst each other the strife of separation, and to carry into their own camp that war which they ought to have waged in concert against the common enemy."

Several evangelical missionary societies were the outcome of the revival. We have already recorded the commencement of Wesleyan missions by Dr. Coke in 1784, when he issued his Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen. Two years later he visited Antigua and found eleven hundred negroes who were members of the Methodist societies. On his return he begged subscriptions. More preachers were sent out, and in 1789 a missionary board was formed. Of the later development of the work we must tell in our next chapter and in the section on "Farther Methodism."

The London Missionary Society was founded in 1795 as the

result of an appeal in the new Evangelical Magazine by Dr. David Bogue. Its first committee included Episcopalians, Independents, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Dr. Haweis,



FROM THE ENGRAVING BY THOMSON .

DAVID BOGUE.

already noticed in connection with Lady Huntingdon, preached the first sermon in Spa Fields. The early committees met in the quaint London countinghouse of the first treasurer, Joseph Hardcastle, of which we have given a picture. This building, by the Old Swan Stairs, near London Bridge, was also the nursery, as we have seen, of the Tract and Bible societies. The

society is now supported mainly by the Congregationalists, but its fathers and founders were friends of Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Clarkson, and Granville Sharpe. The missionary ship, Duff, and the name of Williams, the martyr of Erromanga, suggest the early romance of the work; and Vanderkemp, Moffat, and Livingtone are among its heroes.

The Church Missionary Society began its work in 1799, and arose out of the discussions of the Eclectic Society, of which John Newton, Richard Cecil, John Venn, Charles Simeon, and other leading evangelicals were members. It was at first

called the Missionary Society for Africa and the East, but its present name was adopted in 1812. The men of Clapham were its ardent supporters, with Wilberforce and Charles Simeon at the front. The advance of ritualism has not diminished its intense evangelical fervor.

It was through Charles Simeon's influence that Claudius Buchanan and Henry Martyn were appointed chaplains of the East India Company, with stipends of £1,200 a year. Buchanan had been sent to Cambridge at the expense of Henry Thornton, having been previously brought to the feet of Christ by a sermon of John Newton's.

The dramatic interest and intense devotion of Henry Martyn's life have made his biography a missionary classic. Gwennap, the scene of Wesley's great open-air services, was long the home of the Martyns, but Henry Martyn was born in Truro. His mother died when he was a year old. His vounger sister was the wife of a Weslevan minister, and "proved at once sister, mother, and spiritual guide to Christ to her gifted brother." To her, who had prayed for this very thing all her life, as Monica had agonized for Augustine, the news of his conversion at Cambridge brought intense joy. Lydia Grenfell, for whom Martyn cherished such intense devotion, left the parish church "for the then warmer evangelical service of the little Wesleyan chapel at Marazion." Thus Martyn had two strong links to Methodism. His character and career have done much to stimulate missionary zeal in all the churches. He labored for the conversion of the Mohammedans, and was a martyr to his work. He went to Persia to perfect himself in the language, and on his way home, in 1812, he sank into his grave at Tocat, where "men were strangers to him and to his God."

Charles Simeon (1759-1836), whose name has so often oc-

curred in connection with the founding of the evangelical societies, deserves a larger place in their history than can be accorded here. Touching is the picture of John Venn intro-

ducing him to "his own dear and honored father, Henry Venn." "In this aged minister," he says, "I found a father, an instructor, and a most bright example; and I shall have to adore my God to all eternity for his acquaintance." It has been well said that the meeting between Henry Venn and Simeon, the evangelical of the generation that was passing away and



REV. CHARLES SIMEON.

the evangelical of the generation that was coming on, would form a subject for a painting.

Simeon's own account in his Horæ Homileticæ of his meeting with Wesley in 1784 is not less suggestive.

"Sir," said Simeon, "I understand that you are called an Arminian; and I have been sometimes called a Calvinist; and therefore I suppose that we are to draw daggers. But before I consent to begin the combat, with your permission, I will ask you a few questions."

Permission being very readily and kindly granted, the young minister proceeded to ask:

- "Pray, sir, do you feel yourself a depraved creature, so depraved that you would never have thought of turning to God if God had not first put it into your heart?"
 - "Yes," says the veteran, "I do, indeed."
 - "And do you utterly despair of recommending yourself to

God by anything you can do; and look for salvation solely through the blood and righteousness of Christ?"

- "Yes, solely through Christ."
- "But, sir, supposing you were at first saved by Christ, are you not somehow or other to save yourself afterward by your own works?"
 - "No, I must be saved by Christ from first to last."
- "Allowing, then, that you were first turned by the grace of God, are you not in some way or other to keep yourself by your own power?"
 - " No."
- "What, then; are you to be upheld every moment and every hour by God, as much as an infant in its mother's arms?"
 - "Yes, altogether."
- "And is all your hope in the grace and mercy of God to preserve you unto his heavenly kingdom?"
 - "Yes, I have no hope but in him."
- "Then, sir, with your leave, I will put up my dagger again, for this is all my Calvinism; this is my election, my justification by faith, my final perseverance; it is in substance all that I hold, and as I hold it; and, therefore, if you please, instead of searching out terms and phrases to be a ground of contention between us we will cordially unite in those things wherein we agree."

When Simeon visited the heavenly minded Fletcher at Madeley his host took him by the hand, invoked a blessing on him, and then took a bell and went through the village telling the people to come and hear the clergyman from Cambridge.

How Simeon as the reforming evangelical of Cambridge was opposed by churchwardens, parishioners, and afternoon lecturers; how after twelve weary years he lived down all opposition; how he began to attract gownsmen as well as townsmen to Trinity Church, where he ministered at a nominal stipend; how he came to exercise a more powerful influence over young university men than any other Churchman of his day—all this is told by his latest biographer, Dr. Moule, the master of Ridley Hall, himself a modern evangelical of the noblest type; catholic, scholarly, spiritual.

Opposition to evangelicalism became bitter and deadly with the rise of Pusevism, about 1833. The intense hatred of the later High Churchmen for the evangelicals and all their doings is frankly stated by one of the first Tractarian leaders, R. H. Froude, whose Remains were edited by Keble and Newman. The editors express their concurrence with "the sentiments, as a whole," of this "witness to catholic views," who visits the West Indies, and says: "I have felt it a kind of duty to maintain in my mind an habitual hostility to the niggers, and to chuckle over the failure of the new system, as if these poor wretches concentrated in themselves all the whiggery, dissent, cant, and abomination that have been ranged on their side. . . . Everyone I meet seems to me like an incarnation of the whole Antislavery Society." This High Churchman says that the thing that strikes him most to use his own words—"in the cut of these niggers" is "a stupid familiarity intended for civility, which prejudices me against them worse even than Buxton's cant did. It is getting to be the fashion with everybody, even the planters, to praise the emancipation." But the fastidious "Anglo-Catholic" could not silence their praises.

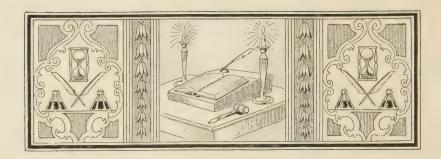
In many towns in England to-day the High Church clergy decline to stand on the evangelical platform of the Bible society, and it is becoming increasingly rare to find one of their denomination present. Mr. J. A. Froude has expressed the

High Church attitude toward the circulation of the Scriptures, unaccompanied by Anglican denominational teachers, in the following style: "Not the devil himself could have invented an implement more potent to fill the hated world with lies and blood and fury. I think certainly that to send hawkers over the world loaded with copies of this book, scattering it in all places, among all persons, not teaching them to understand it [in the High Church sense], but cramming it into their hands as God's book, which he wrote, and they are to read, each for himself, is the most culpable folly of which it is possible for man to be guilty."

It has pleased God, however, to honor greatly the work of the despised "hawkers," and the history of the evangelical societies and missions gleams with illustrations of the way in which the simple circulation of the Scriptures has awakened inquiry, prepared a path for the missionary, and led seekers after truth into the light when the missionary was far away.



SEAL OF JOHN WESLEY.



CHAPTER CXXIX

Revolution or Evolution?

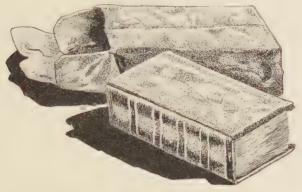
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—A CRITICAL ERA.—PARTIES IN METHODISM.
—THE PLAN OF PACIFICATION.—THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH EMERGES.

WO years after Wesley's death Europe and America were thrilled by the news of the beheading of Louis XVI of France. Marie Antoinette was guillotined. The Reign of Terror began: about fourteen hundred persons were executed in five weeks; the Christian religion was formally repudiated in France, the worship of "Reason" proclaimed, and the great principles of popular freedom and progress were obscured by disastrous anarchy.

Colonel Maurice once asked his father, Frederick Denison Maurice, "How do you account for the fact that England, at the end of the eighteenth century, escaped a revolution like that of France?"

- "O," quickly answered the famous Broad Churchman, "there is not the least doubt as to that; England escaped a political revolution because she had undergone a religious revolution."
- "You mean that brought about by Wesley and White-field?"
 - "Of course," was the reply.

Lecky expressed a similar opinion when he wrote: "England on the whole escaped the contagion. Many causes conspired to save her, but among them a prominent place must be given to the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people." Canon Overton justly says that it



DRAWN BY J. O. NUGENT.

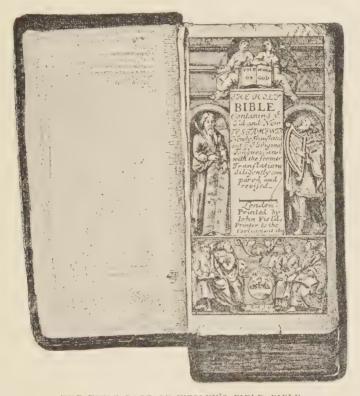
WESLEY'S FIELD BIBLE, WITH CASE.

must not be pretended that the revival was the sole cause of the very different reception given to the revolutionary and skeptical doctrines of the French encyclopedists, and Thomas Paine in England and France. "The very excesses which they produced in France caused here a reaction of feeling among many cultured men who were not in the least touched by the revival. Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, and others at first deeply sympathized with the rising spirit of liberty in France before it degenerated into license; and Edmund Burke, though he never showed so marked a sympathy with the French revolutionists, may be fairly presumed, from his antecedents, to have been so far in accord with them as to regard with a favorable eye the first efforts against oppression and tyranny across the channel. But all these great men, when they saw

the reckless course which things took, experienced a violent revulsion of feeling for which the evangelical revival was assuredly in no degree responsible. The refined writings and feelings, however, of such men as these did not in the least affect the masses. And it was of incalculable benefit to the nation that such a power as Methodism existed just at the time when otherwise the revolutionary torrent would have swept away multitudes in its course. In fact, Methodism was a sort of safety valve through which many let off their superfluous steam. Many a man who, under different circumstances, would have been haranguing about the Rights of Man was happily preoccupied with a far more noble subject—the love of God."

Nevertheless, England was profoundly influenced both for evil and good by the revolutionary earthquake. The outbreak of war with its famine prices gave rise to bread riots and seditious pamphlets. The wide circulation of Paine's Rights of Man and the unwise prosecution of its author; the hysterical fears of the comfortable classes; the discovery of three thousand daggers in Birmingham, and Burke's dagger scene in the House of Commons; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; the pelting of the king's carriage by the starving mob, and the Seditious Meetings Bill, which forbade any public gathering of more than fifty persons without previous notice to a magistrate—all this terror and tumult produced as well as betokened unwonted national feverishness, and made the work of philanthropists and church builders anxious and critical.

Among the seventy thousand Methodists of Britain were multitudes who had been reclaimed from the very class who recruited the dangerous mobs of an earlier period. A new intelligence, a new sense of human equality and of manhood's rights, had been awakened in them. They felt the tremor of the Revolution, and they could not be indifferent to its tragic lessons both for the aristocracy and democracy of Britain. To Wesley's successors was committed the task of organizing, guiding, and teaching, through this critical era, these recently

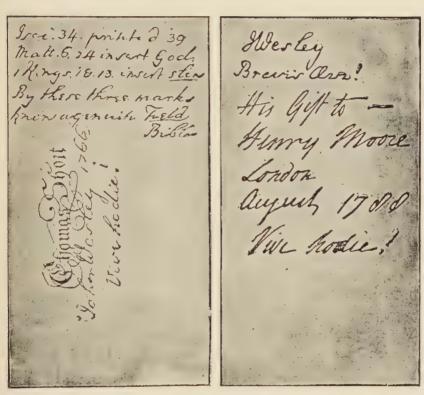


THE TITLE-PAGE OF WESLEY'S FIELD BIBLE.

This volume is handed down from president to president of the Wesleyan Conference,

awakened and ardent multitudes who had received a "gift of tongues" and formed part of a great community which now covered the British Isles. Statesmen were changing their opinions and polity almost every month, nations were in convulsions, the air was charged with electricity, and the great ecclesiastical statesman, whose pervasive personality had given unity to Methodism, was dead! No wonder that the itinerants fasted and prayed, and that saintly Joseph Entwistle wrote, "My soul trembles for the ark of the Lord."

There were three types of Methodists when Wesley died. By far the largest class had been rescued from the moral wilderness. They had not left the State Church, for the reason that they had never in any spiritual sense been members of it. They could only be reckoned in the returns of its adherents on the same principle that the statistics of that Church are compiled to-day—by returning all the persons in the army, the workhouses, and the jails as Churchmen who are not avowedly Nonconformists or Roman Catholics. As one of them, a Mr. Thompson, said to a clergyman at Desborough who referred to him as having "left the Church:" "Sir, that was to me impossible when I became a Methodist. I had never entered a church in my life except at a wedding or a funeral." Such as these, even if they were nominal communicants, had been under no discipline, had experienced no religious life or fellowship, had been indifferent to doctrine and morality. When they became Methodists they naturally desired to receive the sacraments from the hands of those who had been instrumental in their conversion, who had introduced them into scriptural church-fellowship and instructed them in their chapels and societies. They knew too well that to be a Churchman did not in their day necessarily involve religious character and conduct. Wesley had subordinated his own views of Church order to the necessities of the work among these rescued wanderers. In 1794 John Murlin wrote to Joseph Benson: "In the infant state of Methodism the preachers only preached, and did not administer the sacraments; but near thirty-six years since Mr. Wesley sent me to Norwich, where I baptized their children and administered the Lord's Supper for a great part of three years, as also did others who followed me; till Mr. Charles



FLY LEAVES OF WESLEY'S FIELD BIBLE,

made a great outcry and put a stop to it for a time. Poor man! he was greatly distressed, fearing we were going to invade the priesthood!"

A second type of Methodist was represented by the so-called "Church party," who sympathized in part with Charles Wesley's views and wished to retain direct connection with the

Established Church. They emphasized John Wesley's expressions of love for the Church, and sincerely believed that more good might be done by adhering to its offices.

A third party of Methodists leaned to pronounced dissent. Among them were some resolute and earnest men who were deeply stirred by the spirit of the times, and the new hopes of freedom and progress awakened by the Revolution, while they repudiated the infidelity and anarchy associated therewith.

These conflicting tendencies created great difficulties for Wesley's successors. The first president of the Conference after Wesley's death was William Thompson, an Irishman of strong sense, with a peculiar genius for ecclesiastical polity, and an able speaker and moderator of assemblies. Dr. Coke was chosen secretary. The laymen of Hull, influenced probably by the fact that the clergy in the town of Wilberforce and the Milners were evangelical, had previously met to protest against any further separation from the Established Church, and especially against the administration of the sacraments in Methodist chapels. Alexander Kilham, a young preacher who was to become a leader of the party of dissent, prepared a trenchant reply to a circular which the laymen issued. Methodism had already been flooded with pamphlets on the debated question when the Conference met at Manchester. Wesley's last letter to the Conference, already referred to, was read, and "seemed like a voice from heaven;" and in response to it every privilege conferred by his Deed of Declaration was accorded to every preacher in full connection. The Conference decided to "follow strictly the plan which Mr. Wesley left us."

But opinions differed as to Wesley's plan. Some maintained that "the old plan had been to follow the openings of

Providence" and to amend the plan as was needful to secure greater usefulness, and that the administration of the sacraments in the chapels generally was now necessary. John Pawson, a coming president, and many others held this view. The Church party maintained that the sacraments should be administered only in the places where this had been sanctioned by Wesley.

And so the question was debated among the people and at successive Conferences. Societies that unanimously desired



THE SEAL OF THE CONFERENCE.

it were granted the Lord's Supper in 1793. Next year the names of more than ninety of these were printed in the Minutes. A year later the whole question was discussed again at Bristol. Matters were brought to a crisis by the action of the trustees of the old Broadmead Chapel, who were of the Church party, and refused to allow even Henry Moore to occupy the pulpit because he had administered the sacrament. Moore was a resolute man. He refused to submit to the trustees, as he had been appointed by Conference. He withdrew from the old building, a large majority of the people following him. Ebenezer Chapel was built by them, and there were loud cries against "trustee tyranny."

The Conference of 1795, over which Joseph Bradford presided, marked an epoch in Methodist Church history. A

committee of nine preachers, representing different opinions, drew up the Plan of Pacification. It was unanimously adopted by the Conference. The plan provided that the Lord's Supper, baptism, the burial of the dead, and service in church hours should not be permitted unless the majority of the trustees, stewards, and leaders of a chapel approved. Where



EBENEZER CHAPEL, KING STREET, BRISTOL, 1895.

the Lord's Supper had been peacefully administered it was to be continued. The plan also accorded the majority of the stewards and leaders of any society the right to summon a mixed district meeting, consisting of preachers and lay officers, for the trial of any preacher for immorality, erroneous teaching, or incompetency. This provided a strong element of popular power for the societies.

The Conference of 1795 filled the hearts of many with hope that "the truce of God" would prevail. The preachers were charged to abstain from agitation and the circulation of pamphlets and letters "without the author's name." But Kilham set these resolutions at naught. He issued posters and pamphlets, some anonymous, some under feigned names of laymen, in which he traduced the preachers. For this he was expelled from their ranks in 1796. He became the originator of the first Methodist secession, of which an account must be given in a later chapter.

The secession did not arrest the growth of the parent Church. The Conferences were remarkable for spiritual influence, and there was a careful reorganization of the funds and of Kingswood School in 1797. The powers of trustees were extended, while the rights of Conference were guarded. The preachers became pastors, though the use of the title "Reverend" was not adopted in the Minutes till 1818. Some of the preachers ordained by Wesley united in ordaining their brethren, but the form of-"imposition of hands" was not introduced until 1836. The leaders' meetings became Church courts for the societies. Quarterly meetings became in effect circuit synods, though their constitution was not fully defined until 1852. The characteristic new creation of the Conference that followed Wesley's death was the district meeting —the British Isles being divided into twenty-seven districts. The term "synod" was adopted in 1892 as better representing the relation of the district meeting to the Conference and Church, and defining their ecclesiastical character as distinguished from the civil institutions—the district councils, etc. —which have resulted from the extension of local government in England. Over the whole the Conference held sway, with its president elected year by year.

The United Societies were thus consolidated into a connection, with all the characteristics of a New Testament Church. We have marked the early use of the term "Church" by Vincent Perronet and Fletcher. The City Road society was referred to in the early Minutes as the Mother Church. The tokens for communicants in Scotland in 1787 bore the inscription, "The Methodist Church." A hundred years after Wesley's death (1891) the Conference agreed to use the same designation in England. Professor Findlay has well said: "We call ourselves now, and without bated breath, the Wesleyan Methodist Church. We have not been hasty or eager in any way about this. We have been content for a century in the fact without the name. Our societies have all along constituted a true fellowship with Christ in the Spirit, as John Wesley very plainly said. They have possessed a Church life as real as any that exists upon earth. But if anyone previously doubted this, if anyone supposed that by speaking of the Methodist Connection, or societies, instead of the Church, and by calling our sanctuaries 'chapels' and not churches, we confessed that our spiritual position was inferior to that of other Christian communities in this land, and that we could not find in our societies all that the necessities of the Christian life and the nourishment of the soul in grace require —if anyone drew this inference from our former manner of speech, he must now be undeceived. We quietly but firmly claim, as Methodist people, to constitute a Church of Jesus Christ; a sisterhood and confederacy of Churches throughout the world."



CHAPTER CXXX

The Expanding Church

SIX SAGACIOUS PILOT PRESIDENTS.—DR. COKE'S DEATH ON THE INDIAN OCEAN.—THE EVOLUTION OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—METHODISM FOR THE RACE.—STATISTICS OF THE FIRST QUARTER CENTURY.

URING the six critical years that followed the death of Wesley remarkable wisdom, equity, patience, and skill were manifested by the presidents—Thompson, Mather, Pawson, Hanby, Bradford, and Taylor. William Thompson, as we have noted, was an Irishman. His pen drew up the Plan of Pacification, and his useful life closed with the century. Alexander Mather was a Scotchman whom we have already seen among the Jacobite rebels of 1745, and later converted under Wesley and consecrated to valiant service. Ripe in judgment, conciliatory and compassionate, he died as the new century opened.

John Pawson was a thorough Englishman: intrepid in facing the early mobs, and a pillar of Methodism when its foundations trembled. He had been ordained by Wesley and supported the cry of the people for the sacraments. Preaching sermons which Dr. Clarke said "seemed just to have dropped out of heaven," his presence in the sanctuary and

Conference was a benediction. He was the first man who was twice president (1793 and 1801). He died in 1806.

Thomas Hanby was another veteran who had passed through furious persecution in Staffordshire. In the early years of the present century old Methodists at Leek used to



FIVE EARLY PRESIDENTS OF THE CONFERENCE,

WILLIAM THOMPSON, ALEXANDER MATHER.

JOHN PAWSON. JOSEPH BRADFORD, THOMAS TAYLOR.

tell how Thomas Hanby's dinner at the inn was interrupted by the scared landlord, who begged him to leave lest the mob should pull down the house; how the preacher rode through the mob, who pelted him with stones and dirt, crying, "Kill him! kill him!" How, on the next visit, a lawyer headed a mob even more furious, and the preacher, seeking refuge in the house of Hannah Davenport, Jacob's Alley, was de-

fended by this woman, who seized an ax, and taking her stand in the doorway, declared that she would cut down the first who dared approach; how she swung the deadly weapon over the lawyer's head, whereat he shouted: "Stand back, lads, for she will be as good as her word!" and how Mr. Hanby escaped through a window into the fields. He was the oldest of Wesley's itinerants when he died, in 1796.

Joseph Bradford, twice president (1795 and 1803), Wesley's friend, traveling companion, and last messenger to Conference, was a prudent administrator and held the scales evenly in the critical debate on the sacraments. He entered into rest in 1808. Thomas Taylor, also twice president, has come before us as an early evangelist in Wales and Scotland. Preaching his last sermon, he exclaimed, "I should like to die like an old soldier, sword in hand!" and two days later, in 1816, he was in the presence of his King.

Dr. Coke was the first secretary of the Conference. It was a wise step not to elect him as president until seven years had passed, as his Anglican training might have produced the impression that it was a Church party election. He was president for the second time in 1805. Six years later he founded the mission in Sierra Leone. For many years he had been intensely interested in India. "I am now," he wrote from Dublin in 1813, "dead for Europe and alive for India. God himself has said to me, 'Go to Ceylon.' I am so fully convinced of the will of God that methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes and without a friend, than not go there." At the Conference of that year his India missionary scheme was at first strongly opposed; the debate was adjourned; Coke spent the night in deep anguish, weeping and praying; next day he threw all his soul into his final appeal to the Conference, and by his impassioned eloquence and generous financial offers carried the cause dear to his heart. Permission was granted him to "undertake a mission to Ceylon and Java," and to take with him seven missionaries, inclusive of one for South



DRAWN BY P.E. FLINTOFF.

DR. COKE'S PORT OF DEPARTURE.

The house in which Dr. Coke held his last prayer meeting before sailing. On the Hard, Portsmouth, the spot where Dr. Coke took ship. Africa. On December 30, 1813, the little company left England for India, after Coke had preached at Portsmouth his last sermon on shore. "It is of little consequence," he had said in it, "whether we take our flight to glory from the land of our

nativity, from the trackless ocean, or the shores of Ceylon.
. . . God will give us our part in the first resurrection, that on us the second death may have no power."

On the voyage the indomitable student of sixty-seven began to learn Portuguese, a language then of much use in Ceylon. On May 3, 1814, when his servant knocked at his cabin door in the early morning, no reply was returned. He entered, and found his master dead on the floor. The missionaries were stunned by the sudden blow. One of them read the office for the burial of those at sea, with choking voice, and the body of the father of Methodist missions was committed to the deep. "To no place," says Dr. Gregory, "can Lyte's fine lyric be more truly applied than to Coke's resting place in the Indian Ocean:

There is in the lone, lone sea
A spot unmarked, but holy,
For there the gallant and the free
In his ocean bed lies lowly.

Sleep on, sleep on, thou mighty dead!

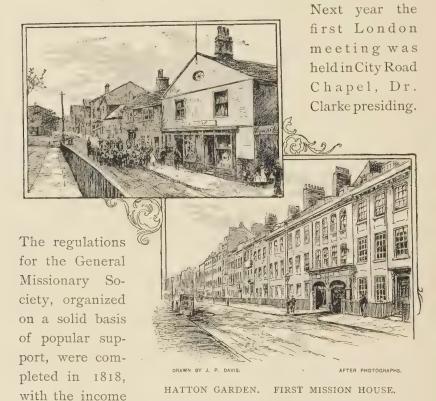
A glorious grave they've found thee:
The broad blue sky above thee spread,
The boundless ocean round thee."

The departure of Dr. Coke for India had made it necessary to place Wesleyan Methodist missions on a firmer basis. At Wesley's last Conference a committee had been appointed. Wilberforce and the Earl of Dartmouth were among the earliest subscribers, but the main work of raising funds had rested with Dr. Coke.

To sagacious George Morley, minister at Leeds and president of the Conference in 1830, belongs the distinction of inaugurating a new era of progress. The first public missionary meeting was held in the old Boggart House, at Leeds, and the first branch Missionary Society was founded three months before Coke left for India. "This blessed plan," he wrote, "will lighten my heart exceedingly both at sea and

for the first year

in Asia." At the Leeds meeting, Warrener, the West Indian missionary; Jabez Bunting, the rising tribune; "Billy" Dawson, the eloquent local preacher, and others were speakers.



House in which first Mission Committee was held.

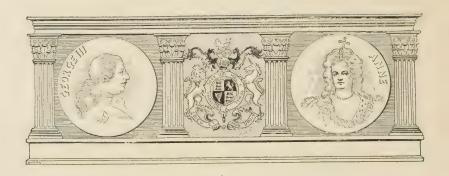
of £20,331. Missionaries were now at work in the West Indies, Sierra Leone and South Africa, India and Australasia.

Eight years later there were four thousand Methodists in Tonga. Cannibal Fiji was missioned in 1835, and heroic John Hunt died, thirteen years later, crying, "Lord, for Christ's sake, bless Fiji, save Fiji." His prayer has been marvelously answered. George Piercy, afterward an ap-

proved laborer among the Chinese in London, landed at Hongkong in 1851. Burma was entered in 1887. We have noted the founding of American Methodism in 1784. Affiliated Conferences mark the rapid expansion of missionary Methodism. The upper Canadian Conference, formed in 1834, to which the missions of eastern Canada were transferred in 1853, and the final amalgamation of the various Methodist societies in the Dominion into one great Church in 1883, is a significant object lesson. The first French Conference met at Nismes in 1852. Three years later eastern British America, including Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, had its own Conference president. The first Australian Conference met at Sydney in 1855, and the missions in the South Sea Islands came under its care. South African and West Indian Conferences were formed in 1882–4.

Thus all round the world local resources have been developed and a great confederation of Churches established. The detailed history of this remarkable expansion must be given in the chapters on Farther Methodism. The following figures show the progress of Methodism during the twenty-five years after Wesley's death:

	MEM	BERS.	
G	reat Britain.	Missions.	United States.
1790	71,463	5,350	43,260
1815	211,066	19,885	211,165
Increase., .	139,603	14,535	167,905
	MINIS	STERS.	
Great Britain.		Missions.	United States
1790	294	19	227
1815	868	74	704
Increase	574	55	477



CHAPTER CXXXI

The First Secession and Sapling Church

TURBULENT TIMES.—ALEXANDER KILHAM, THE ARDENT "REFORMER."— WILLIAM THOM, THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE NEW CONNECTION .-SOME MEN OF MARK.—THE JUBILEE AND CENTENARY.

HE Annual Register for the year 1800 says in its striking preface: "A dreadful but salutary experiment in the course of the last ten years has been made by the nations. The rulers of states and nations have been taught the danger of tyranny; the people that of anarchy; the financier that even commercial advantages may be too dearly purchased; the politician and statesman that durable power consists not so much in extended territory as in compacted dominion, flourishing population, and, above all, in justice justice in the conduct of governments, external as well as internal."

When we consider the disturbed state of England during these ten years—the reaction against reform which resulted from the fear of revolution, the extreme doctrines of "the rights of man" proclaimed by excited orators, the association of principles of liberty with license and infidelity, and the tendency of the nervous authorities to suppress expressions of opinion by force—it is not surprising that Methodism felt the tremor, and that the evolution of its ecclesiastical polity was to some extent affected by the national agitation. Some Methodist leaders of the first half century showed a tendency to reactionary conservatism—a few others to extreme radicalism. This must be borne in mind as we glance at the seces-

sion Churches and revivalistic offshoots of Methodism. In this chapter we deal with the first secession, which arose from differences on polity; in the next chapter with the offshoots, which have been chiefly the exuberant growth of irregular but noble evangelism.

The Methodist New Connection became the name of the first of the sapling churches. Alexander Kilham, William Thom.



REV. ALEXANDER KILHAM.

Stephen Eversfield, and Alexander Cummins are regarded as the fathers of the new communion, which was organized in 1797.

Alexander Kilham was a native of Epworth who was engaged as a personal attendant by "Squire" Brackenbury, the Methodist preacher, and, becoming a serviceable coevangelist, was soon "no longer a servant, but a brother beloved," and afterward an able and enterprising itinerant preacher. He

was thirty years old when Wesley died. The moderate sacramental concessions of the Plan of Pacification received at first his vote and voice, because, as he said, "we have gained a great deal more than we expected. Our people are not prepared for more at present. In two or three years we shall have all we wish." This was on August 2, 1795. But he changed his attitude before a year had passed. He had been allowed to administer the sacraments for several years, and the new plan permitted their administration in all Methodist chapels where a majority of the trustees, leaders, and stewards wished it. Mr. Kilham, however, would have forced the sacraments on societies the majority of whose lay officials objected. His intense and honest Dissenting convictions made him impatient of the more gradual severance from Anglicanism which many of his brethren thought to be the wiser course.

In the Jubilee Volume of the New Connection is the following reference to the Conference concessions in the Plan of Pacification, which Mr. Kilham thought did not go far enough. We quote it at some length, as being the most candid statement of the matter in controversy:

"We are prepared to make every allowance for their circumstances in reference to their decisions respecting the Church and sacramental questions. In fact, they demand our sympathy in some respects rather than our censure. They were beset with difficulties which were for the time insurmountable, and the probability is that a decision to administer the sacraments and hold service in church hours in all the chapels, though accompanied with a declaration of liberty of conscience to all who dissented from such a regulation, would at that time have caused a fearful schism—a schism of perhaps more than one half of the community.

"This is evident from a fact in the history of the connection in Ireland; for when the Irish Conference, about twenty-five years afterward, passed a resolution to have preaching in church hours, and administer the Lord's Supper in their own chapels to such only as desired it, leaving all who dissented from this regulation at perfect liberty to go to church as usual, there was a schism of about one half, or somewhere about sixteen thousand persons, who formed a distinctive and rival community under the denomination of 'Primitive Wesleyans,' or 'Church Methodists' (since reunited with the parent Wesleyan Church).

"These facts clearly show that in declining to legislate for the introduction of the ordinances the Conference was controlled by the force of circumstances rather than by its own wishes and desires. Some few, no doubt, among the preachers as well as among the laity were influenced by a political leaning toward the Establishment, and the hope of a legal incorporation within its pale; but the great body of the preachers were desirous that Methodism should exist as a distinct community, enjoying within itself all scriptural ordinances, and no doubt deeply regretted that the prejudices of the laity prevented this from being sooner accomplished."

On some other points Mr. Kilham was before his time—as in his proposals that lay delegates should attend district meetings and Conferences, that quarterly meetings should have a voice in the acceptance of candidates for the itinerancy, and that local preachers should be examined at the quarterly meetings. These improvements were only gradually adopted by the parent Church. Other proposals were more startling, especially his requirement that Wesley's Notes and the standard sermons should be submitted to the judgment of the societies throughout the land, and should be altered in

accordance with the judgments of the majority. He also demanded that the exercise of discipline should be taken out of ministerial hands, and the admission or exclusion of members should rest with the societies.

It is no slight proof of Kilham's sagacity that he anticipated so many of the successive developments of Methodist polity which have been found necessary during the last ninety vears. It is to be lamented that his methods of propounding his views were so ill-judged. He circulated one big poster at Aberdeen, which professed to be the production of two laymen, censuring the Conference for condemning his previous anonymous circular, and he made the personated laymen say concerning his pamphlet, "We have read it ourselves." His anonymous pamphlets were couched in severe terms: "None can oppose this liberty but narrow-spirited bigots or lordly, overgrown bishops." "The devil and his angels, with all their helpers, cannot hinder the people," etc. He professes to write as an outsider of "your connection." Of the election of chairmen of the districts by the Conference, he says: "This disgraceful limb of Antichrist will soon be torn from us;" and more in the same strain. He published attacks upon the character of the preachers which should have been brought before the Conference and supported by evidence. He declared, "I would not any longer be restrained from printing anything whatever."

In their Life of Kilham the president and secretary of the New Connection Conference make the following frank admissions concerning him: "He was certainly in many cases too precipitate... and did not make proper allowance for the sentiments of others. Some of his complaints had the appearance of personal abuse, others as if produced only for the purpose of defamation." It was this which led to his

exclusion from the Wesleyan Methodist ministry, much to the regret of many who appreciated his past evangelism, his strong convictions, and his marked ability. One significant rule (101) of the New Connection is as follows: "A minister desirous of issuing any publication or addressing a circular or pamphlet to the connection, or to any part thereof, con-

troverting our principles and rules, shall, before publishing, submit the work to the judgment of the Annual Committee, and abide by its decision; or, if he publish, he shall be dealt with as in the judgment of Conference the case may require."

Mr. Kilham was the first secretary of the New Connection Conference, but he died at the age of thirty-six, worn out by excitement and exertion, having survived his



from the engraving in the methodist new connection magazine. $REV.\ \ WILLIAM\ \ THOM.$ The first president of the Methodist New Connection.

breach with Wesleyan Methodism little more than two years.

William Thom was the first president of the New Connection, and must be regarded as the chief founder of the Church. He became a Methodist in the same year as Samuel Bradburn and James Rogers, and Wesley counted his name worthy of a place among the Hundred of the Deed of Declaration. He was a well-educated, courteous Scotchman, a consistent friend of religious liberty, a thoughtful preacher, a serious, spirit-

ually minded man. An extract from the letter in which he tendered his resignation to the Wesleyan Conference throws a pleasant light upon his character:

Although I came to the Conference fully determined to continue in union with my brethren, if I could act in sincerity of heart, yet I now feel myself obliged to declare that I must withdraw, and act in union with those of the people whose sentiments agree with my own. I feel no desire to reflect on any of the brethren who differ from me; I believe they act in sincerity with their own principles, and may be useful to those who agree with them. I love and respect many of them with whom I have long been acquainted, and part with great reluctance. I am determined neither to make the pulpit nor the press the vehicle of abuse; but if I should be called upon to speak to the point in controversy among us, I shall press into the service of the cause arguments drawn from Scripture and the primitive customs of the Church of Christ. Praying that the Great Head of the Church may bless the members of his mystical body in every part, and unite us all in him in the cords of the divine love, I remain, dear brethren, Yours affectionately, W. THOM.

He died in 1811, and was buried in one of the vaults under Bethesda Chapel, Hanley, near to his friends Smith, Meigh, and the Ridgways—eminent laymen of the Church in their day. It is significant of the later friendly feeling existing between the New Connection and the Wesleyan Methodists that the first Fernley Lecture was delivered by Dr. Osborne in this noble chapel at Hanley where William Thom's body lies.

About five thousand members seceded to the New Connection out of a membership of ninety-five thousand. For many years the new denomination made slow progress, and the preachers suffered much privation. The work was extended to Ireland in 1799. The "Paternal" and "Beneficent" Funds were originated four years later for the support of the preachers' children and the relief of the aged and widows. Home missions were commenced in 1816, and a mission to Canada in 1837 proved very successful, with the Rev. John Addyman and Dr. Crofts as pioneers. In 1875 the Canadian mission was united to the other branches of Methodism in Canada.

The jubilee of 1846, celebrated at Manchester, was a time of great rejoicing, and the membership in England was reported to be 15,610; Ireland, 932; Canada, 3,460.

A training college was opened at Ranmoor, Sheffield, in



RANMOOR COLLEGE, SHEFFIELD.

FROM A WOODCUT

1864, through the generosity of Mr. Thomas Firth, and fifteen years later the philanthropic Mark Firth presented £1,000 to the Endowment Fund. Mr. Mark Firth, who had endowed almshouses and a college for higher education for the town of Sheffield, died in 1880, perhaps the most eminent of New Connection laymen.

Among the ministers a goodly number have attained to more than denominational eminence. Thomas Allin (1784-1866) was one of the greatest pulpit orators of his time, whose "every sentence was a truth, winged with lightning, aimed directly at the conscience and the heart." William Cooke, D.D. (1806-1884), was a catholic-spirited warrior "for the truth upon the earth;" the opponent on the platform of an ex-minister of the connection, Joseph Barker, who made great havor by his erroneous teaching and ultimate atheism.

Barker became a colleague of Mr. Bradlaugh. There are few sadder pages in modern literature than those in Barker's Autobiography in which he relates his experiences during those dark days when he had lost all faith in God and immortality. After years of wandering he recovered his early faith, and Dr. Cooke welcomed his return to Christianity with brotherly affection. Thrice president of the Conference, an able theological professor, and the author of some noble books—The Deity, and Christian Theology—Dr. Cooke must be regarded as the master mind of his Church.

A man of kindred spirit and gifts, with a more entrancing literary style, was James Stacey, D.D. (1818–1891). For twenty-three years he was engaged in training young men for the ministry. Dr. Gregory describes him as 'a preacher and writer whose vigorous and subtle intellect, always under the control of sobriety and reverence, would adorn any Church in Christendom." His Life, by Dr. W. J. Townsend, another eminent president and writer, is a biographical gem.

Samuel Hulme was a gifted preacher and scholar. Ralph Waller, who died in 1848, is regarded as the Thomas Walsh of the denomination; and P. J. Wright, who has had scant justice done him in the Life of Mrs. Booth, of the Salvation Army, was a powerful, logical preacher, who turned many to righteousness, and contributed largely to the prosperity of the Church of which he was president in 1852. The Conference of 1880 was remarkable for its record of the deaths of six prominent ministers: P. T. Gilton, William Baggaly, Dr. Crofts, John Taylor, Charles Mann, and B. B. Turnock, B.A. The four first named had been presidents of the Conference. Dr. Stacey published in 1862 a memoir of Mr. John Ridgway, "who had been so prominent and influential that his life might be justly considered a chapter of the connec-

tion's history." Dr. J. C. Watts is a preacher and editor of note.

The New Connection Magazine and Book Room have existed since 1798. Dr. Cooke and Dr. Stacey have enriched



FORMER LEADERS OF THE NEW CONNECTION.

James Stacey, D.D.

WILLIAM COOKE, D.D.

the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine by their contributions. Richard Watson, who wrote a classic memoir of James Parry, was connected with the body for eight years, and they claim the honor of bringing him out of obscurity. He earnestly advised Methodists to join them who preferred their method of Church government. Their doctrines are Wesleyan, and their polity does not now differ so widely from that of the

older body as it did before 1877, when laymen were admitted to the representative sessions of the Wesleyan Conference.

The foreign missionaries have labored chiefly in Australia and China. The mission churches at Adelaide and Melbourne, with the consent of the Conference of 1888, united with the Bible Christians and Wesleyans.

The celebration of the centenary in 1897 (when the valiant missionary the Rev. John Innocent was president) was remarkable for a series of gatherings at Leeds and in Wesley's chapel, City Road. Dr. Parker, of the City Temple, preached in the historic chapel, and representatives of the "old body" of Wesleyan Methodists took part in the meetings and addressed the Centenary Conference at Sheffield. president of the Wesleyan Conference, Dr. Randles, in his greeting said of the New Connection: "Its intelligent and self-denying fidelity to Christian doctrine and its promotion of holy living have proved it one of the great forces for moral and spiritual good during this nineteenth century. While in secondary matters your methods may have varied from those of other Churches, your trumpet has given no uncertain sound as a witness for God and his saving truth; nor have you failed to stand firmly for religious and civil liberty."

The Methodist New Connection in 1899 reports 41,558 members, 208 ministers, 1,179 lay preachers, and 84,682 Sunday scholars. Suggestions for the reunion of the connection with the other Methodist bodies have been made in recent years, but questions of polity and finance have obstructed the way. Proposals of organic union do not yet meet with general acceptance, but cordial fraternity and cooperation for Christian objects already exist between all the Methodist Churches.

The Jubilee Volume of 1846 closes with a passage which

has gathered force during the last fifty years: "Most of those men who were engaged in the disputes which convulsed Methodism from center to circumference, and resulted in the formation of the New Connection, have finished their course. They have met in a purer clime, where the understanding,



REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE NEW CONNECTION.

REV. W. J. TOWNSEND.

REV. J. C. WATTS.

REV. J. S. CLEMMENS.

full of light, is ever in unison with a heart of love. . . . We hail the advancing spirit of concord, and pray that this spirit may extend its healing influence till every breach is repaired and we are made perfect in one."



CHAPTER CXXXII

Exuberant Offshoots

THE CAMP MEETING ON MOW COP.—SOME NOBLE IRREGULARS.—THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST CONNECTION.—THE ROMANCE OF THE EARLY RANTERS.—THE CONVERSION OF CHARLES HADDON SPURGEON.—THE BIBLE CHRISTIANS.

ORTHWEST of the heart of England is a populous district, about twelve miles in diameter, known as "the Potteries." Forests of lofty chimneys rise amid colossal bomblike furnaces and stacks of warehouses. Long rows of potters' dwellings link together the dozen black and busy towns which lie under the pall of smoke. Here the Wedgwoods, the Mintons, and their successors created a center of ceramic art, and here Enoch Wood, of Burslem, molded his famous busts of Wesley and other celebrities. Many a critical industrial question has been threshed out and many a socio-religious problem has been painfully solved by the hard-headed, warm-hearted, impulsive potters and miners of this unique and fiery land of clay and iron and coal.

A great ridge of millstone grit, called Mow Cop, stands up one thousand feet high on the north, and under the shade of this grim hill, in the lea of a grove of smoke-browned fir trees, the famous camp meeting was held in 1807 which led to the formation of the fervent and flourishing Primitive

Methodist Connection. Hugh Bourne and William Clowes were the founders of this noble evangelistic Church.

Hugh Bourne (1772–1852) was living in his father's house at Bemersley, amid collieries and ironworks, when a sermon by Wesley and a book by Fletcher led to his conversion. Soon after he joined the Methodist society. The Primitive Methodist historian, Petty, tells us that he was a man of indomitable energy, and of too stern and unbending a nature to be turned aside by trifles from what he conceived to be the way of Providence. This his portrait betokens by every line and curve.

William Clowes was born at Burslem in 1780. He learned the potter's trade under his uncle, Joseph Wedgwood, and, being a clever workman, he earned high wages, which he spent in riotous living. At a revival meeting he found new life, but fell again, and was restored some years later at a prayer meeting. Henceforth revivals and prayer meetings were his delight. Bourne and Clowes became fast friends, and each fired the other with zeal. One of Bourne's relatives was Daniel Shubotham, a boxer, a poacher, and a ringleader in crime. Bourne, whose heart was moved by his misery, pleaded with him and led him to Christ. Others soon followed; cottage prayer meetings sprang up in all directions, and there were scenes of blessed excitement of which the converting furnaces of clay around them seemed fitting symbols to the ardent people. Their zeal was unquenchable, and the meetings were prolonged for hours. The Burslem minister appears to have missed his opportunity of enlisting these fervent men in any regular form of evangelism. At one of the long prayer meetings Daniel Shubotham, failing to disperse the people, had uttered an unwitting prophecy: "You shall have a meeting on Mow some Sunday, and have a whole day's praying, and then you will be satisfied." The words arrested Bourne's attention, and he mused on them until his heart kindled.

The flame was fanned into a blaze when Bourne and Clowes read in the Methodist Magazine an account of the American camp meetings. "Their imaginations," says Dr. Stoughton, "became filled with pictures of forest trees hung with lamps, a wide space encircled with tents, and a preacher addressing thousands of people called together day by day at the sound of a trumpet." While their imaginations were aglow with these pictures Lorenzo Dow, the American revivalist, visited England and preached at many places, including Burslem and Harrisea Head. At the latter place he asserted that "occasionally something of a pentecostal shower attended camp meetings; and that as much good had been done at them in America as at all other meetings put together."

The fervent friends felt the idea burning in their brains. Why should they not "transform Mow Cop into a Carmel, and there, Elijah-like, plead with God until he sent a great rain?" So at the time of the yearly wakes, or revels, when the Potteries went wild in brutal dissipation, on the last day of May, 1807, they hoisted a flag on the hilltop and gathered a vast crowd by the fir grove below. Hugh Bourne thus describes the closing scenes: "Thousands were listening with solemn attention; a company near the first stand were wrestling in prayer for mourners, and four preachers were preaching with all their might. This extraordinary scene continued until about four o'clock, when the people began to retire, and before six they were confined to one stand. About seven o'clock a work began among children, six of whom were converted before the meeting broke up. About half-past eight this extraordinary meeting closed, a meeting such as our eyes

have never beheld; a meeting for which many will praise God both in time and eternity. Such a day as this we never before enjoyed. It was a day spent in the active service of God, a Sabbath in which Jesus Christ made glad the hearts of his



A GROUP OF PRIMITIVE METHODIST AND BIBLE CHRISTIAN LEADERS.

REV. HUGH BOURNE.

REV. WILLIAM ANTLIFF.

REV. JAMES THORNE.

REV. BOURNE.

REV. FREDERICK W. BOURNE.

saints and sent his arrows to the hearts of sinners. The propriety and utility of camp meetings appeared to everyone. So real was the work effected that the people were ready to say, 'We have seen strange things to-day.'"

For the next camp meetings tents were secured, that there might be an encampment day and night. Then the fears of the Macclesfield and Burslem ministers were aroused. They

feared the perils of these concourses of people gathered in the shelters for the night. They had failed to guide the movement at an earlier stage, now they became alarmed. They issued handbills disclaiming all connection with the meetings. They do not appear to have entered into friendly counsel with the enterprising evangelists. Hugh Bourne wavered for a moment, but finally decided to hold the camp meeting at all costs. The Conference of 1807 disclaimed connection with the meetings as "likely to be productive of considerable mischief." Hugh Bourne took out a license for himself as a "Protestant Dissenting minister," although the Conference of 1803 had forbidden private members of society to do this without the permission of the superintendent; and so the breach widened. Bourne and his helpers ignored all regulations, and went through the country holding camp meetings. At first all the converts were advised to join the Methodist societies.

In 1808 Hugh Bourne was excluded from the society, and two years later William Clowes, who was a local preacher, refusing to promise compliance with the rules, became, as he expresses it, "unchurched." A Wesleyan writer in the London Quarterly Review confesses: "Doubtless, having regard to the letter of the law, the action of the Burslem superintendent can be vindicated; still in that action we are not so much impressed by the delicate poise of the balance of justice as with the exceeding sharpness of her sword."

Mr. Bourne and his comrades had formed a preaching plan of their own in 1809. A year later they formed their first society, and they gathered into its membership their converts, most of whom had never been connected with any Christian community. As Professor Slater says: "This body of Christian laborers did not enter upon other men's labors, but went

to the ungodly masses. The new society, therefore, was not so much a secession as an exuberant offshoot of the older tree of Methodism. In 1812 this offshoot assumed the name of the "Primitive Methodist Connection." In 1818 a Deed Poll was drawn up and a new Church definitely founded. The rough voice of the world called the fervent singers and preachers "Ranters."

The fact that their first leaders were laymen is impressed upon the constitution of their connection. Lay delegates attend the Conference and district meeting in the proportion of two to each minister present. The first Conference was held at Hull in 1820; its statistics show 8 circuits, 48 preachers, 277 local preachers, 7,842 members. Next year the membership had doubled.

The shameful persecution which the "Primitives" suffered resembled that endured by the early Wesleyans. At Westminster the publicans' agents attired themselves as devils, with horns, wings, and tails, and rushed in upon the affrighted congregation. The old device of turning a bull loose upon the open-air gatherings was resorted to. "Turn out the Ranters" was the war whoop of many mobs, incited to violence by the sympathy of clerical magistrates. Clergymen caused the bells to be rung to drown the preachers' voices; dogs were set fighting and drums were beaten. The clergymen at Newark employed the fire engine to quench the Ranters' zeal, as in the days of John Cennick. "You cannot quench the fire within!" cried the preacher, Lockwood; and some friendly boatmen cut the hose to pieces with their knives. The boatmen were charged with the damage before the magistrates, who, to their honor, in this case made the parson pay. Many a poor laborer was turned out of his cottage by his landlord and had to camp out at night by the

roadside or on the moors. The poorly paid itinerants supped on cabbage, slept under haystacks, and, says one, "I was awakened by the singing of the birds, and I arose and went into the town and preached again at five to many people. To-day I was glad to eat a few pea husks as I walked, but I bless God that much good has been done."

"Brother Russell" was entrapped by the Jesuitical trick of the Chaddleworth clergyman who induced a policeman to purchase a hymn book of the preacher, and then clapped the Ranter into jail for selling without a hawker's license. He was sent to work at the wheel until his hands bled. Released through the interposition of some gentlemen, he was met at the jail gates by his friends, who, after singing a hymn, marched with him to the market place, where he preached from the words, "Whom when Paul saw, he thanked God and took courage."

Some Cambridgeshire country clergy in 1845 were sorely grieved when the churchwarden and constables who were sent to disperse the Ranters were converted and became stanch supporters of the local chapels. Robert Hall, the eloquent preacher of Leicester, vigorously defended the irregularities of the fervent evangelists, saying: "Was not our Lord's rebuking the scribes and Pharisees, and driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, very irregular? Was not almost all that he did in his public ministry very irregular? Was not the course of the apostles, and of Stephen, and of many of the evangelists very irregular? Were not the proceedings of Calvin, Luther, and their fellow-workers in the Reformation very irregular—a complete and shocking innovation upon all the quiescent doings of the papists? And were not the whole lives of Whitefield and Wesley very irregular lives, as you view such things? Yet how infinitely is the world indebted

to all these! No, sir! there must be something widely different from mere irregularity before I condemn."

It was at Leicester that these "irregulars" built a chapel with their own hands. Visiting the brickyards, for every thousand bricks they bought they begged a thousand more. An eccentric gentleman, whom they asked for a donation, said, "I will give you a large ash tree on condition that you drag it to Leicester with human strength." They accepted the challenge, put the timber on a pair of wheels, dragged it in front of the donor's house, and a preacher climbing on the prostrate mammoth tree, delivered a sermon from the words, "Now also the ax is laid to the root of the tree," etc. They sold the timber for £7, and therewith bought windows for their chapel. A year afterward the General Missionary Committee was formed.

In 1831 eight preachers went to the United States, and a mission was extended to Canada. In the latter country the membership had reached nine thousand when it was amalgamated with the Canadian Methodist Church.

The jubilee of the connection, in 1860, gave an opportunity for a review of the inspiring traditions of earlier hardship. Ten thousand people assembled at a camp meeting at Tunstall, where the first chapel had been built, and Thomas King, the oldest of the veterans, preached. Funds were reorganized and the Book Room placed on a better footing. The Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review, for many years under the editorship of C. C. McKechnie, has taken high literary rank. A college at Rusholme, Manchester, for the training of ministers has an able principal in Dr. Parkin. Professor A. S. Peake, M.A., was the first Nonconformist to gain by open competition a theological fellowship in Oxford University. J. Flesher, eloquent and versatile; the popular

W. Harland, Dr. Antliff, the historian of the body, W. Petty; R. Fenwick, Dr. Watson, H. Phillips, John Smith, Rev. Joseph Odell, the present president, and others, have been worthy successors of Bourne and Clowes.

Dr. Rigg testifies: "At the first Ecumenical Methodist Conference, held in London in 1881, the masterly ability, the clear-cut thought, the tempered boldness of several of their ministers were conspicuous. Few abler men or men with clearer insight into the needs of the times were found among the whole assembly." "There has for many years past been a very friendly feeling between the old Wesleyan Connection and the Primitive Methodists."

Proposals have been considered for the union of the body with the Bible Christians, but the latter have a majority in favor of equal representation of ministers and laymen in their Church courts, and this has hitherto prevented amalgamation. A "forward movement" in evangelism has commenced, and a bold step has been taken in purchasing the chapel of the late George Dawson, the eloquent Unitarian of Birmingham, for a central mission in that city. The foreign missions find their record in our volumes on World-Wide Methodism. The Primitive Methodists are well represented in civil life, having H. Broadhurst, G. Doughty, J. Fenwick, J. Wilson, and Joseph Arch in Parliament, the last three being the chosen representatives of labor.

A well-verified story reveals the debt which the whole world owes to a Primitive Methodist local preacher named Robert Eaglen, whose sermon led to the conversion of the late Charles Haddon Spurgeon, the renowned Baptist pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London. Mr. Spurgeon himself related in a sermon of 1856: "I resolved to visit every place of worship in Colchester, that I might find out

the way of salvation. I felt willing to be anything and to do anything if God would only forgive me. At last, one snowy day—it snowed so much that I could not go to the place that I was determined to go to, and I was obliged to stop on the road, and it was a blessed stop for me—I found rather an obscure street, and turned down a court, and there was a little chapel. I wanted to go somewhere, but I did not know this place. It was the Primitive Methodists' chapel. I had heard of these people from many, and how they sang so loudly that they made people's heads ache; but that did not matter. I wanted to know how I might be saved, and if they made my head ache ever so much, I did not care.

"So, sitting down, the service went on, but no minister came. At last a very thin-looking man came into the pulpit and opened his Bible and read these words: 'Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth.' Just setting his eyes upon me, as if he knew me all by heart, he said, 'Young man, you are in trouble.' Well, I was, sure enough. Said he, 'You will never get out of it unless you look to Christ.' And then, lifting up his hands, he cried out, as only I think a Primitive Methodist could do, 'Look, look, look!' 'It is only look,' said he. I at once saw the way of salvation. O how I did leap for joy at that moment! I know not what else he said; I did not take much notice of it, I was so possessed with that one thought. Like as when the brazen serpent was lifted up, they only looked and were healed. I had been waiting to do fifty things, but when I heard this word 'Look,' what a charming word it seemed to me! O I looked until I could almost have looked my eyes away, and in heaven I will look on still in my joy unutterable. I now think I am bound never to preach a sermon without preaching to sinners. I do think that a minister who can preach a

sermon without addressing sinners does not know how to preach."

In 1864 the pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle preached in the chapel at Colchester in which he was converted. He took for his text the memorable words, "Look unto me, and be ye saved," etc., and said, "That I heard preached from in this chapel when the Lord converted me;" and pointing to a seat on the left hand, under the gallery, he said, "I was sitting in that pew when I was converted." This honest confession produced a thrilling effect upon the congregation.

The last statistics of the Primitive Methodists record 198,930 members, 1,102 ministers, 16,617 local preachers, 4,985 chapels, 467,884 Sunday scholars.

The Bible Christians owe their origin to an outbreak of evangelistic ardor similar to that which gave rise to Primitive Methodism. "Both of these," says Dr. Rigg, "were irregular outgrowths from Wesleyan Methodism, founded by lay preachers who did not find within the liberties of Wesleyan Methodism, as regulated by the Minutes of Conference, free or adequate scope for their own methods or the working out of their own ideas." "During the first twenty years of the present century," writes J. S. Simon in the London Quarterly Review, "the revivalistic spirit developed a centrifugal force which threatened to fling off into space innumerable ecclesiastical fragments."

The founder of the Bible Christian Connection was William Bryan (1778–1868), a fervid Cornishman of Irish descent, and his chief coadjutor was James Thorne (1795–1872), a man of Devon. Bryan's irregular evangelism led to his exclusion from the Methodist society in 1810. "It may be admitted," says the Rev. F. W. Bourne, a recent Bible Christian president, "that some of Mr. Bryan's movements were not wise,

nor was the conduct of his friends either considerate or judicious. . . . If his efforts were irregular, they were glorious

irregularities. If he erred, he REV. WILLIAM BRYAN. erred, as Robert Hall argued, in the best of company." The first Bible Christian society was formed at the Lake Farm House, Shebbear, Devon, on October 9, 1815. LAKE FARM HOUSE. The first Conference was held in 1819, at which Bryan presided, with Thorne as secretary, and twelve preachers. A missionary

society was formed two years later, and the name Bible Christian, affixed to them at first by outsiders, was formally adopted. In 1829 Bryan, "claiming

REV. JAMES THORNE.

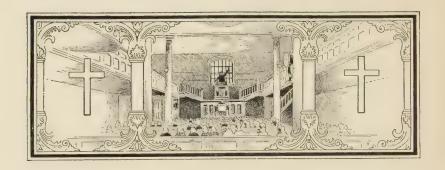
the continued exercise of patriarchal powers which the Conference would no longer concede," seceded from the Church he had founded, and in 1835 embarked for the United States, where he once more originated a society. The leadership then



SHEBBEAR COLLEGE.

devolved on James Thorne, who was five times president. He was a strong, sympathetic, catholic-spirited man, with much mental force, whose name is held in high honor throughout the West of England, where his Church has its stronghold. The centenary of his birth was celebrated in 1895, when his son came from Australia to take part in the festival, and was elected to the presidential chair for a year. Good work has been done by the Bible Christians in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. The ministers, who now number 291, shepherd 34,961 members, with 1,872 local preachers and 57,451 Sunday scholars. Colleges have been founded at Shebbear and Edgehill, and the Rev. H. W. Horwill, M.A., opened the discussion on "Higher Education" at the Washington Ecumenical Conference of 1891, "being assured by the example

of our founder that it is possible to blend refined scholarship with simple faith and fervent zeal." The Rev. F. W. Bourne, then president of his Church, closed the Ecumenical Conference with an address on "The Church of the Future," affirming that "the present trend of thought, the stream of tendency among the Protestant Churches of the world, is in the direction of a Church of which the main features will be a fearless love of truth, a nobler catholicity of spirit, a wider and more practical sympathy, and a bolder and more aggressive evangelism."



CHAPTER CXXXIII

Some Master Minds of the New Century

Joseph Benson, the "Whirlwind" Preacher.—Samuel Bradburn, the Soul-saving Orator.—Henry Moore, the Sagacious Veteran.—Adam Clarke, the Savant, Saint, and Herald of the "Divine Benevolence."

RETURNING to the history of the twenty-five years that followed the death of Wesley, we find among the presidents some men of striking individuality and diversified gifts. Their views on details of polity differed as widely as their personality, and their election shows that the Wesleyan Methodist system, whatever its defects, did not crush out individuality or force even its officials into one ecclesiastical mold. Four master minds gave distinction to the presidency—Benson, Bradburn, Moore, and Clarke.

Joseph Benson (president 1798 and 1810) saw "more clearly than most of his contemporaries that the true and allabsorbing subject of solicitude was not the framework and polity of Methodism, but its preservation as a great agency for converting the souls of men." There, then, he stood before his people, from Sabbath to Sabbath, a pale and slender man, of a presence melancholy and all but mean, with a voice feeble and, as he raised it, shrill, and with a strange accent, caught in his native Cumberland; his body bending,

as beneath "the burden of the Lord," his gesture uncouth and sometimes grotesque, the general impression of the



REV. HENRY MOORE.

REV. SAMUEL BRADBURN. REV. JOSEPH BENSON.

whole scarcely redeemed, at first sight, by the high, clear forehead, firm nose, and steady eye which his portraits have preserved to posterity. But the man was seen no more when, having announced his message, he proceeded to enforce it. Dr. Chalmers once said concerning a plain Methodist preacher, "I like your George Thompson, he goes about saving souls in such a businesslike manner." Benson, in higher degree, had this habitual purpose and faculty. "He was a sound and learned expositor of Holy Scripture. Making the best use of this prime advantage, he explained, argued, and taught; but he also warned, remonstrated, entreated, and wept until, often, throwing down the weapons his spent strength could wield no longer, he fell on his knees and vented his full heart in fervent prayer, while vast congregations quailed or melted under the spell of this last appeal to a resistless Energy, and, as with one voice, cried—but not aloud—for instant mercy."

Early in 1795, when the strife at Bristol had grown so fierce that his very position as a Methodist preacher was threatened, Benson went into Cornwall and, after a long succession of sermons, found himself so pressed one day by an eager crowd of outdoor listeners that he begged those already converted to stand far off, and those as yet unsaved to come within hearing! But all stood still, with feet planted more firmly than before, and with eyes fastened on him as though he had been the angel sent from heaven to put in his sickle and to reap the ripe harvest of the earth. "What!" he cried, "all unconverted!" In a moment the terrible conviction of sin, guilt, and danger ran like fire through the multitude, and conscience-stricken sinners fell by hundreds as if slain by these two words; while round them thronged the godly, pouring into their wounds "oil and wine."

Benson spent eight years upon his Commentary; a practical, devotional work, less diffuse and more exact in exegesis than Scott's, and admirable in its terse expression of Armin-

ian Methodist doctrine. He died in 1821, leaving behind him a host of spiritual children.

Samuel Bradburn, president in 1799, differed widely from Benson in physique and style. He was endowed by nature with the temperament and gifts of the genuine orator, possessing a "conscious dignity in his mien, a graceful movement of his person, benign radiancy in the eye," and a resonant, musical voice which he knew well how to modulate. Benson was often as the whirlwind, terrific in his denunciation of sin, thrilling in his appeals to the sinner's sense of fear. Bradburn was less severe and, while he did at times exercise his powerful imagination in depicting the sinner's danger, more frequently won his heart by the charm of holy oratory and persuasion. Entwisle describes the overwhelming effect with which he often gave out the hymns. Dr. Adam Clarke was admittedly even greater as a preacher than as a commentator, and he had been Bradburn's colleague in Manchester. His testimony is: "I never heard his equal. I can furnish you with no adequate idea of his powers as an orator; we have not a man among us that will support anything like a comparison with him. Another Bradburn must be created." Jabez Bunting, who after Bradburn's death was acknowledged for the next quarter of a century to be the most powerful preacher of the time, and had enjoyed the benefit of Bradburn's ministry, was wont, during the first vear of his probation, to walk fourteen miles, from Oldham to Manchester and back, to hear Bradburn's Saturday evening sermons. For intellectual and imaginative sublimity and splendor Richard Watson was universally recognized as, beyond compare, the mightiest man in Methodism during the generation which succeeded Bradburn's, and he walked twenty miles to hear him preach, and thus described the

effect: "I am not a very excitable subject, but Mr. Bradburn's preaching affected my whole frame. I felt the thrill to the very extremity of my fingers, and my hair actually seemed to stand on end."

Of Bradburn's daring, genial humor many stories are told. He had a quiet and ingenious way of silencing self-praise. Once a brother was dilating on his own popularity in the circuit where he was stationed at the time. "Aye," said Bradburn, "what a mercy it is that some old women like us wherever we go!" He made rich fun of men who bragged of the sacrifices they had made for Methodism. When one boasted in his presence, "I have given up all for Methodism," Bradburn solemnly replied, "I can beat that; I gave up two of the best awls in Methodism." His spiritual son, Samuel Bardsley, a man of behemoth bulk, was a devoted friend. Bradburn used to call him "a great lump of love" and a "heavenly apple dumpling." Bradburn himself was portly.

Bardsley, foreseeing a great crush to hear Bradburn's Conference sermon and the difficulty he himself should have in forcing his way through a Yorkshire crowd, besought his old friend to let him sit behind him in the pulpit; not unwilling also, possibly, to remind the public of the tender spiritual relationship between them. "O," said Bradburn, "that would never do; they would call us the two babes in the wood." His obituary notice records, "His peculiar vivacity had frequently been a source of temptation to him."

Bradburn was enthusiastically active in philanthropic enterprises, national and local. He and Dr. Adam Clarke founded the Strangers' Friend Society in Manchester, on the plan of that of which Great Queen Street Chapel, London, was the center. He was also one of the earliest and most earnest of English abolitionists. In 1792 he published An



AFTER COCHRAN'S ENGRAVING FROM THE PAINTING BY JACKSON. $\mathbf{REV.} \ \ \mathbf{RICHARD} \ \ \mathbf{WATSON.}$



Address to the Methodists on the Slave Trade. Bradburn was, what above all he strove to be, "wise to win souls." Mr. T. P. Bunting says, "He never trod the pulpit floor but with the assured air of an habitual conqueror." His eloquent voice was silenced by death in 1816.

Henry Moore, born in the very middle of the eighteenth century, lingered, "a venerable relic of early Methodism," till near the middle of the nineteenth (1844). He was one of the three—Drs. Coke and Whitehead being the other two —to whom Wesley left all his manuscripts, "to be burned or published as they see good." And when Whitehead finally determined to publish his Life of Wesley independently of the Book Room the Book Committee requested Moore and Coke to prepare a memoir to be published for the benefit of the connection. Accordingly they speedily issued a joint Life, in the preparation of which Moore appears to have had the principal share, and which he subsequently enlarged and published in two volumes in 1824-5. His intellectual powers were of a high order. His perception was quick, his understanding clear, acute, and vigorous, his judgment cool and deliberate, and his decision prompt and firm. This last characteristic occasionally brought him into painful collision with his brethren, by whom the sententious, sagacious, grimly humorous, sturdy veteran was, nevertheless, greatly be-"Thank God!" he would say to them, "Thank loved. God! we have everything necessary and a little more. was not always so. I remember when I first came to London and had not a second coat, nor could I procure another. We had a tailor among the local preachers and I wore his coat while he turned mine. And at that time I was in Mr. Wesley's house as his assistant. He used to say sometimes, 'Henry, you don't treat me like a friend: you never tell me of anything you want.' 'Indeed, sir,' I said, 'I'd be loth to rob a poor-box.' I knew he gave away all he had."

Of the influence of Wesley's condensed editions of books he said: "All the world are getting into Mr. Wesley's view, sir. Even the great appear to think μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κακόν (great book, great bore). Yes, sir; Mr. Wesley often said to me, 'Ah, Henry, if angels were authors, we should have few folios.'"

Speaking of the multiplication of penny publications, Mr. Moore said, "It's all served up an oyster at a time now, sir."

His reminiscences of the older preachers were vividly told in the social circle: "Andrew Blair," said he, "was very zealous, but a rough, noisy preacher. A friend once took a child to hear him, and the boy afterward said, on being asked, that he did not like the preacher at all—he cursed and swore so! I heard Mr. Wesley tell this story once when preaching at the Conference from the text, "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God." He said: "No man can be bullied into heaven, or ever was. You would not like to be counted cursers and swearers."

"Captain Webb was a red-hot preacher. He took some text about the Holy Ghost out of one of the epistles and went on to this effect: 'The words of the text were written by the apostles after the act of justification had passed on them. But you see, my friends, this was not enough for them. They must receive the Holy Ghost after this. So must you. You must be sanctified. But you are not. You are only Christians in part. You have not received the Holy Ghost. I know it. I can feel your spirits hanging about me like so much dead flesh."

"Some of our very useful men in that day," said Mr. Moore, "were men of very little talent. There was Tommy



FROM THOMPSON'S ENGRAVING OF THE PORTRAIT BY JENKINSON.

ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.S.A.



Mitchell with his checked handkerchief, which a man nowadays would hardly pick out of a kennel, always wiping his face with one hand and scratching his head with the other! He was a very useful man, and obtained the name of 'the poor man's preacher.' Bradburn told me that he learned a great lesson when he and Mitchell traveled in Bradford together. It was then a very large circuit. One wet day

Mitchell had to come through Bradford to preach at a place ten miles beyond, in the country. He came soaked through. So Bradburn offered to take his turn and let him stop and preach in the town. He did so, and Bradburn rode in the rain till the water ran out of his boots. When he came to the house he knocked at the door with his whip; the place was full. The master looked up at him. 'What! is it nobbut ye? We looked for Mr. Mitchell.' Bradburn said afterward he was humbled in the dust, and trusted never to forget it."



MRS. MARY CLARKE.

The wife of Adam Clarke, at the age of seventy-one.

Such are the fragments of the table talk of Henry Moore, who was "mettlesome and sturdy as an Irish horse, and was just as sturdy and as good at need." He twice occupied the presidential chair, in 1804 and in 1823.

The far more famous Irishman, Adam Clarke, ranked among the greatest scholars and savants in Christendom; "yet ever mightier with the voice than with the pen, a

greater preacher than expositor by many bright degrees, and yet nobler still as a man of stainless honor and a faithful man of God." "A member of almost all the learned societies in Britain, and the cherished guest of royal dukes, chosen by his majesty's Commissioners of Public Record as the most competent man then living for the Titanic task of editing the state papers of the empire, and in the front



THE CLARKE MEMORIAL CHURCH, PORTSTEWART,

The edifice crowns the high ground in the distance.

rank of philanthropists and archæologists, he was yet as simple as a saint."

Dr. Gregory considers Clarke the most genial and entrancing preacher of the "divine benevolence" which his age produced. An old Bolton Methodist, who was never tired of talking of the great preachers of the first half century after Wesley's death, was asked which of them, on the whole, he thought the very best. After a reflective pause he answered, "Well, I think Adam Clarke." When asked, "Why?" He simply answered, "Because he always gave God such a good character." Aye! that was the secret of Adam Clarke's Samsonian might as a glorious gospeler. He had the firm-

est heart-hold and the surest head-hold of the great Johannean truth, "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and gave his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." He did not shear of his healing beams the full-orbed Sun of Righteousness by stopping short of that refulgent clause, "And gave his Son to be the propitiation for our sins."

Dr. Gregory vividly recalls the personal appearance of this truly great man when the boys from Woodhouse Grove School were admitted to the Leeds Conference gallery in 1830: "Before the addresses to the preachers' sons were delivered it was announced that the committee for drawing up the resolutions against negro slavery in the British dominions must meet during the 'open session.' Foremost among the members of this committee was Dr. Clarke. Thereupon up rose a figure that could not possibly be mistaken, if only by reason of the 'purple tinge' of his sea-blue drapery. He stood carefully collecting and sorting a number of papers which lay upon the desk before him. When, six years afterward, I read of his surpassing skill in scrutinizing and collating manuscripts I could not but recall his critical and searching look as he stood among his peers in Brunswick Chapel and held up to the light, and 'sought out and set in order,' a pile of seemingly important documents. That was not an unimportant moment in Methodist history. Dr. Clarke communicated the resolutions to Wilberforce. These resolutions were followed up by petitions to both houses of Parliament 'from every society and congregation in the United Kingdom, signed by at least a million of names of honest men.' So for every individual slave there was at least one Methodist appellant. At this time Dr. Clarke would be in his seventy-first year, and had but two more years to live on earth. He looked elderly, but not at all infirm. He

was slightly above the middle height, well shaped and strongly built, and in good condition. His features were not nearly so striking as those of many of his brethren."

The Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, attended City Road Chapel to hear Dr. Clarke preach on behalf of the Royal Humane Society. The Duke of Sussex, a man of



. HAYDON HALL.
Residence of Dr Adam Clarke.

learning and taste, became an appreciative friend of the scholarly Methodist divine, who was invited by the royal duke to Kensington Palace, where he met Dr. Parr and other celebrities at dinner. The duke visited Dr. Clarke more than once at Haydon Hall—where he lived after he had ceased to itinerate—and the two students spent many pleasant hours over a set of Hebrew manuscripts which Dr. Clarke had purchased in Holland. On one occasion, when the duke went to City Road Chapel to hear Dr. Clarke, he utilized the time before the opening of the service by examining the hymn

book. Opening on the section headed "For Believers Fighting," he turned to a gentleman by his side and, pointing this out to him, observed, "You see they are not like the Quakers; they do allow their people to fight." When Dr.



OLD WOODHOUSE GROVE SCHOOL, "WESLEYAN ACADEMY," 1812.

Clarke gave out the hymn "For the King," the duke said, "See, it's in the book; it's not just brought in for the occasion; here it is already."

We have referred to Dr. Clarke's work as a translator for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and to his ten years of labor on the state papers—in continuation of Rymer's Fœdera. His best known work is his Commentary, on which he was engaged for thirty years.

To the last he preached with fervor. Thrice he was elected

president, 1806, 1814, 1822. In 1832 he fell a victim to the cholera epidemic. "It is impossible," says Dr. Gregory, "to forget the thrill which shook the Methodist community when the intelligence passed through it, 'Dr. Clarke is dead!"



THREE EARLY CONFERENCE PRESIDENTS.

Rev. John Barber.

REV. CHARLES ATMORE.

REV. JAMES WOOD.

What an awe it cast on us wild, brave Grove lads when his friend and fellow-laborer, the fine old governor, George Morley, announced to us just before family worship, in tremulous and saddened tones, 'Boys, I have to tell you Dr. Clarke is dead.' All Methodism put on mourning for its

famous man. . . . Whatever spark of holy high ambition for sacred scholarship and worthy service for the cause of God and man might glow in any schoolboy's bosom was fanned into a flame. Philanthropists and scholars and all the friends of evangelistic enterprise and the devoutest men in all the churches of the saints 'made great lamentation over him.'"

Three more presidents of the first quarter century deserve more prominence than can be accorded them here. John Barber (1807 and 1815) was distinguished by his noble frankness, manly independence, and fearless decision of character. James Wood, coeval with Henry Moore, had for eighteen years labored with Wesley. He twice filled the chair, in 1800 and in 1808, and was an early governor of the Woodhouse Grove School, for ministers' sons, opened in 1812. In his seventy-seventh year his "glory was fresh in him, and his bow was renewed in his hand." Charles Atmore, president at Sheffield in 1811, was converted under Joseph Pilmoor of American renown. His Methodist Memorial, sketching the lives and characters of the early preachers, which was published in 1801, reveals his charitable judgment and his fervent, affectionate character.



CHAPTER CXXXIV

The Hibernian Harvesters

IN THE DAYS OF THE REBELLION.—A GIDEON OF GALWAY.—VERNAC-ULAR POWER AND PATHOS.—AT THE WAKE AND BY THE WAYSIDE.— "THE BLESSED VIRGIN'S ADVICE."—THE ULSTER REVIVAL.—COS-MOPOLITAN IRISH METHODISTS.

A LTHOUGH, as we have seen, there were a few earnest revivalists who did not find the administration of the older Methodism flexible enough for their "glorious irregularities," there were many more who found that its polity provided ample scope for the most enterprising evangelism.

Ireland, as Wesley had prophesied, became a fruitful field for a race of native harvesters. Wesley's friend and champion, Alexander Knox, was secretary to Lord Castlereagh, Chief Secretary for Ireland at the time of the Rebellion of 1798. He wrote of the Methodist preachers, "These are the men that can create a soul beneath the ribs of death." Even during the political tornado the spiritual work went on. The Irish Conference address of 1798 reports: "Some of us were imprisoned for weeks by the rebels, exposed also to fire and sword in the heat of battle, and carried, surrounded by hundreds of pikes, into the enemy's camp, and plundered of

almost everything valuable." But they sowed the seeds of the Gospel "in the furrows made by the plowshare of war."

The Irish Conference at Dublin in 1799 marked a new epoch in Methodism, for, urged by Dr. Coke, it appointed three Irish-speaking evangelists to work among the masses: James McQuigg, Charles Graham, and Gideon Ouseley.

McQuigg was an able Irish scholar and was employed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in editing the Irish Bible. He revised the second edition of Bedell's original manuscript in the library of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

Graham is still venerated as the apostle of Kerry. He was a local preacher when Dr. Coke first asked him if he could preach in Irish.

- "No," he replied.
- "Why not?" asked the doctor. "You can speak it."
- "Yes," said Graham, "but can every good man who talks in English preach in it?"

The doctor was silenced, but Graham was set on fire, and soon preached in the vernacular. For thirty-four years he uttered his powerful appeals to multitudes who heard, trembled, wept, and rejoiced before him. The gray-headed veteran of seventy-four fell on his horse's neck in fatal illness as he rode to Athlone in 1824.

Gideon Ouseley (1762–1839), of Dunmore, Galway, had been exhorting in his native tongue for six years when sagacious William Hamilton told the Conference of his power and promise. It was Hamilton who, in 1843, closed a preaching career of fifty-six years exclaiming: "If I could shout so that the world might hear, I would tell of the love of God my Saviour. Not a cloud! Not a cloud! Victory over death! The sting is taken away; glory, glory to God!"

Ouseley was one of a distinguished family, his brother be-

ing General Sir Ralph, and his cousins the Orientalists, Sir William and Sir Gore Ouseley. A learned priest had well drilled his vigorous brain in Latin and mathematics. The accidental discharge of a gun during a frolic quenched the



REV. GIDEON OUSELEY.

light of one eye forever, and set him thinking. The manly appeal of a Methodist officer of dragoons, quartered at Dunmore Inn, led him to cry, "I submit! Lord, I submit!" and then he tells us, "I saw Jesus the Saviour for me; my heart melted at the sight of his love, and I knew that God had forgiven me all my sins. My soul was filled with gladness and I wept for joy."

This was the experimental Gospel which

henceforth fell from his lips in the pathetic language which was matchless music to all Irish ears and hearts. Gideon one day was passing a wake house where mass was being celebrated before the funeral started. Alighting from his horse, he joined the congregation, who were listening to a service in Latin, not a word of which they could understand. As the priest proceeded, Gideon translated into Irish, sentence by sentence, those passages of the service which had a Scriptural bearing or a good moral tendency, exclaiming at the end of each sentence,

"Listen to that!" The hearers were struck with astonishment and much affected, and the priest was overawed, as if a messenger from another world had appeared among them. At the close of the service he addressed the people with deep pathos, mixing Gospel truth with solemn warnings against sin, avoiding all allusions of a controversial kind. Then remounting his horse, with an affectionate farewell to the crowd—gratefully responded to by them—he disappeared as mysteriously as he came and acted.

"Musha, father, who is that strange gintleman? Who is he at all?"

"'Deed I don't know; sure he's not a man at all at all, that can do what he's done; sure he's an angel!"

Some time after this he overtook a peasant on the road who, with unusual warmth, saluted him with:

"God bless yer honor!" to whom the horseman replied:

"The same to you, honest man!" and then asked, "Would you like to have God's peace in your heart, and stand clear before the great Judge when he comes to judge the world?"

"O, sir," replied the peasant, "glory beto his holy name, I have his peace; and I praise him that I ever saw yer honor's face."

"You have this peace?" said Ouseley. "How did you get it? and where did you see me?"

"Do ye mind, sir, the day at the berrin' (burying), whin the priest was saying mass?"

"I remember the day well; what about it?"

"O, good gintleman," answered the peasant, "you tould us thin plainly the way to get the peace, and I wint at wanst to Jesus Christ my Saviour, and, blessed be his holy name, I got it, and it's in me heart iver since."

Among those with whom he conversed on his journeys was "a pilgrim of the Reek"—that is, of Croagh Patrick, the

majestic mountain which overlooks Clew Bay, and with which superstition connects the patron saint of Ireland. To its summit devotees make pilgrimages for the good of their souls and the expiation of their sins. After the friendly salutation of Gideon, "Good morrow!" and the reply of the peasant, "Good morrow kindly," there followed the question, "Where have you been, honest man?".

- "Sure, sir, I was at the Reek."
- "And what, poor man, were you doing there?"
- "I was looking for God, yer honor."
- "Looking for God! Where is God?"
- "Sure he is everywhere," answered the man.
- "When the sun shines in at your own cabin door, where would you go to find the daylight? Would you go forty miles to look for it?" asked Ouseley.
 - "O, sir, the Lord help us! I wouldn't."
- "Then why go forty miles on your feet to look for God, when you can find him at your own door?"
- "O, then, gintleman, the Lord pity us; it's thrue for ye! it's thrue for ye intirely!"

When he was traveling with Henry Deery in the North of Ireland, about 1815, they heard the voices of young girls blithely singing, and through the open doorway saw them "scutching" flax (stripping off the husk from the fiber). After courteous greeting, merrily responded to, Gideon asked curious questions about the flax. "And what is all this lying about the floor?" he asked, pointing to the "shows," or husks, at their feet, and "What do you make of them?"

- "Make of them, sir?" laughed the girls. "Why, nobody could make anything of them."
- "And weren't they a part of the flax a while ago?" asked he.

"To be sure, sir; but they're good for nothing now, except to be burned; and a bad fire they make."

"O, I understand, I understand," said the preacher, and then very solemnly went on: "And, children dear, just so will the Lord Jesus Christ" (and here every head was bowed) "come one day with all his holy angels, and he will 'scutch' the world, and he will gather together all that is good, every one that is fit for his kingdom, and take them to himself: and the rest—the shows, the chaff—he will cast into unquenchable fire!"

"The Lord save us!" was whispered around.

"Amen!" said the preacher; "let us pray."

All were promptly on their knees, while Mr. Ouseley, in fervent petitions, pleaded for the salvation of the young workers. Rising, he blessed them in the name of the Lord, mounted his horse and rode away, leaving them hardly sure that an angel had not visited them.

These are typical instances, out of many, of Ouseley's tact in the use of the Irish language, in dealing with Roman Catholics, and in winning souls by the wayside. "I want to tell you about the Blessed Virgin," he would cry to a hostile mob. "What do the likes of you know about her?" was the inquiry. Then followed the story of Cana, and how there was plenty for the feast and enough left to help the young couple to set up housekeeping. "All that," continued Ouseley, "came of following the Blessed Virgin's advice, 'Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it." The stone-throwing ceased; the hushed crowd listened with rapt attention to the narrative which, probably, some of them heard then for the first time in their lives. The preacher, however, kept sending home the Virgin's words, "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it." "Follow the Holy Mother's advice," said he, "and

do not be wheedled by any drunken schoolmaster, who will only put wickedness into your heads." "It's thrue for ye; it's thrue for ye intirely!" exclaimed an old man. "If ye're tellin' lies all your life, it's the thruth ye're spakin' now." Then followed many of the sayings of Christ, each followed by the Blessed Virgin's advice.

Ouseley and his companion missionaries were violently opposed by the priests. At Tralee they stirred up the people and succeeded in creating such an uproar that Graham, in writing of it, says, "You would have imagined that hell was let loose." At Skibbereen the common people heard them gladly until a priest came "riding furiously through the crowd, lashing with his whip on every hand." Some of the people ran, but others of them stood their ground, and said (writes Graham) "they could follow us throughout the world." William Hamilton was Ouseley's companion in travel and tribulation, and says: "Such a year of persecution I never had. 'Cruel mockings' are nothing, and showers of stones and dirt are but play, but bloodshed and battery are no joke. Last Christmas we were waylaid and robbed of our books. Ouseley was hurt, and lost his hat in the fray." At Loughrea, in his native county, Ouseley and William Reilly, afterward his biographer, were subjected to most unprovoked ill-treatment. Riding toward the town, Ouseley suddenly reined up his horse and said to his friend, in a way unusual for so fearless a man: "I feel as if the atmosphere were crowded with devils; we shall be attacked in the town." And so it proved, for a mob came upon them with hideous yells and they had to escape to the guardhouse from the flying missiles.

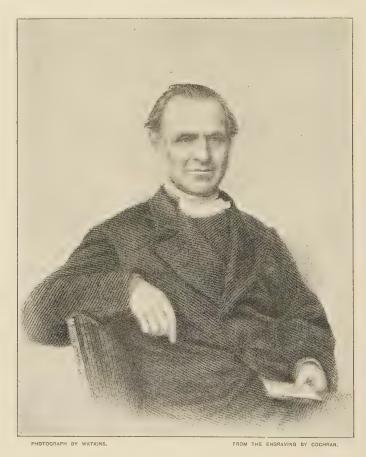
Ouseley had friends among the Irish clergy and aristocracy. At the houses of the Earl of Roden, the Earl of Farnham,

Lord Castlemaine, and Lord Lorton he was sometimes a guest, and at the street preaching in Athlone Lord and Lady Castlemaine stood by him; the last mentioned being a daughter of good Archbishop Trench of Tuam. This excellent prelate was an admirer of Ouseley and his work and of the Methodist Evangelical Revival generally. When he was rector of Ballinasloe, with Garbally, the seat of his father, the Earl of Clancarty, close by, he held divine service, by permission, in the Methodist chapel while the parish church was undergoing repairs, and occupied the pulpit alternately with the Methodist preachers. After hearing one preach he said, "It is not surprising, if all of them preach like that, if all the world runs after them."

The Irish missionaries reaped a glorious harvest. In one year they gathered in 5,000 members. At Dr. Coke's first Conference (1782) 6,000 members were reported; at the last at which he presided (1813) there were 28,770. Ouseley's visits to England were remarkably fruitful, and one of his converts was Thomas Collins, who must be noted later as a wonderful "fisher of men." Space fails us for recording the blessed romance of Irish evangelism or even naming all its heroes—such as Andrew Taylor, who entered the rebel camps and was six times in bonds, but who faced the captain, saying, "I am a Methodist." "Ay," responded the rebel, amazed at his pluck; "you wouldn't tell a lie." He was everywhere received as an angel of God.

W. Graham Campbell, D.D. (1805–1885), carried on the evangelical succession from the days of Graham and Ouseley to our own times with quenchless zeal. It was under his preaching at Antrim in 1857 that a young man named McQuilkin was converted, and returning to Connor, gathered a few others in a schoolhouse for prayer during the same

month that the first noonday meeting was held in New York. Reports reached Ireland of the revival in America and aroused a spirit of inquiry and hope. Converts from Connor



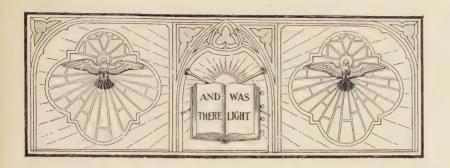
REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM CAMPBELL.

began to witness to the work of the Holy Spirit with overwhelming power, and scenes of holy fervor followed which attracted the attention of the whole world. The Rev. William Arthur visited his native place, where the work originated, and recorded his conviction of its genuineness, and the Rev. F. A. West, president of the Conference in 1857, in a letter to a London paper wrote: "Physical phenomena may accompany moral causes, and serve to arrest attention and attest moral facts. Sudden moral changes from ill to good are none the worse for being sudden."

The work spread through all the churches, and in 1850 forty thousand persons assembled in the Belfast Botanic Gardens, where twenty different companies were addressed by ministers of all the Protestant churches. It was no uncommon thing for operatives in the mills to be stricken at their work. Night and day the voices of agonized prayer or jubilant praise could be heard in the streets. In Ballymena business was practically suspended; the spiritual wave bore down all before it. It reached Londonderry, where for six · weeks in succession the evangelical ministers united and hundreds were born of God. It spread to Lisburn, Lurgan, Armagh, Moy, and Donegal, and the moral results of the great Ulster revival were manifest and permanent. In the little town of Banbridge nine dealers in spirits abandoned their calling, and in many places drunkenness and profanity almost entirely disappeared. Methodism received a powerful impetus, recovering the ground it had lost during the years of famine and emigration; for in fifteen years ten thousand members were reported as having left for America.

The Irish historian, Charles H. Crookshank, M.A., speaking at Exeter Hall in 1887, justly said: "It would be possible to trace the results of Irish Methodism in every land, in many of the towns and cities of Great Britain, in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Germany, in the islands of the West Indies, in Southern Africa, in India, in China, in Australia, and in the islands of the South Seas. In Australasia the first Methodist,

the first class leader and local preacher, the first to conduct a Methodist service in that vast continent, was a young man who had been converted to God through the divine blessing on the labors of the Methodists of Cork; and this young man was the first to receive and welcome Samuel Leigh when he came to Sydney, and to render him important aid in the glorious mission in which he engaged. In the British Dominion of Canada and in the United States of America, especially, the fruit of Irish Methodism is amazing; and I think I am right in saying that there is no city or town, no village or hamlet, in the whole of North America, in which Methodism has obtained a footing, in which the result of our labors is not to be found."



CHAPTER CXXXV

The Tongue of Fire

THE BRITISH REVIVALISTS.—SANCTIFIED ORIGINALITY.—WILLIAM BRAM-WELL AND HIS METHODS.—DAVID STONER'S SCYTHELIKE SERMONS.— JOHN SMITH, WHOSE "LIFE WAS A GREAT BELIEF."—HODGSON CAS-SON'S HOLY AUDACITY.—THE FRAGRANT LIFE OF THOMAS COLLINS.

"INDIVIDUALITY must be maintained and cultured; not indeed by the indulgence of crotchets and the love of oddities, but in originalities of beneficence, manfulness of testimony, and personal effort to save souls." Methodism in England as well as in Ireland has been blessed with sons and daughters of marked individuality, who, baptized with pentecostal fire, have maintained the revivalistic succession. Nearly all the ecclesiastical leaders of Methodism who have shaped its polity, originated its institutions, and contributed to its literature have been successful soul-winners, and some of them, like Benson, Lessey, Robert Young, Rattenbury, McAulay, and others, have been powerful "revivalists." Hundreds of the rank and file have witnessed the kindling of revival fires, and it is only possible here to name a few whose work has found record in the hagiography of Methodism.

William Bramwell (1759-1818) was one of these. His very form and features "left an impression upon the mind like the stamp of a seal; his hair raven black, his firm under lip, his

eye like a dagger, dark and searching." Like Luther, he emerged from awful struggles with the powers of darkness, retaining vivid convictions of their personality. His strong passions were brought under rigorous control, and he was almost as ascetic as Fletcher. His charity was unbounded; he would strip himself of raiment to give to a more needy brother. Tender of the reputation of others, compassionate for weakness, he yet rebuked sin with the withering effect of fire from heaven. Next to Benson, he was the most terrific prophet of his day in proclaiming the doom of the impenitent; yet he could be as winning as a mother over her children, as he pleaded for the penitent's immediate acceptance of Christ. His marvelous power in public prayer was the outcome of long hours of private devotion. He often quoted, as he ever realized, the saying of his ideal, Fletcher: "It is the unction that makes the preacher."

Yet Bramwell's counsels to his young comrades show that he did not neglect the secondary methods of success in preaching. "Rise early. . . . Read much, but write whenever you read; have a book on purpose. . . . Labor for something fresh every sermon, and yet nothing but strong Gospel." "Write something every day, and never lose one idea which the Lord in mercy gives you." "Never be stiff, tiresome. The English cannot bear this. Never be tedious; yet do not be too short. Let them have all from you, but 'much in little." "Read the Scriptures without a comment, to find out the breadth and length, depth and height, by digging, prayer, and receiving light from God. . . . Examine a comment after your own labor, to see the difference, but never before it. . . . Be clear and strong. . . . Be neat and clean in all your clothes; never foppish or fine." If you have no end in view but bringing souls to God, this will cure almost

everything." "Live with Abraham in believing, with Elias in prayer, with Daniel in courage, with John in love, with Paul in feeling for the world; remember—this was 'night and day with tears."

The visible results of Bramwell's preaching were pente-



REV. WILLIAM BRAMWELL, REV. DAVID STONER. REV. DUNCAN M'ALLUM.

costal. Twelve hundred members were added to the Sheffield society during his first year's labor there. Hundreds of soldiers surrendered to his appeals. "Such a work of God in the army I have never seen," said Moses Dunn; "lions turned

into lambs; seventy meet in class in Sunderland." Skeptical deists fell before him as if struck by lightning, and one of them cried, "I will proclaim it—I will write it with my right hand—that Jesus is the Son of God."

David Stoner, who labored from 1814 to 1826, was another "stalwart reaper amid the thick-standing corn. His sermons were scythes, whetted to resistless keenness by study and by prayer, flashing with their swift and steady sweep, laying down multitudes at once." Fifty or sixty years ago it was a rare thing to attend a love feast within the populous district between Leeds and Craven without hearing the testimony of one or more whom he had "saved with fear, pulling them out of the fire."

Stoner was tall, gaunt, ghostly, hollow-cheeked, with a long, deep, and apparently tear-worn depression stretching diagonally from the eye across the face; with a Baxterian expression of countenance, and hair combed and clipped with conscientious precision, and brushed down over his brow as if to hide its intellectuality. His eyebrows hung closely over his eyelids, as if they had been drawn down by habits of selfseclusion and world exclusion and spiritual abstraction. His colleague, Daniel McAllum, M.D., himself a masterly preacher. testifies of Stoner: "His style was not meager, but enriched with the purest and most classical terms which the example of the best writers has sanctioned among us," but "the hearer was never allowed to think of the preacher or the composition; all his thoughts and concern were forced in upon himself. . . . Appeal following appeal lightened up the conscience, revealing at once the darkness and the light; . . . bolt succeeded bolt. . . . Spiritual profit, the utmost profit, and present profit, was the thing aimed at. The vehement thirst of his soul was to do good. The zeal of the Lord ate him up; it was a fire in his bones; it was a torrent on his lips." His taciturnity in company led Everett to describe him as "a mute in social life; an Apollos in the pulpit." After twelve years ministry he passed away with the characteristic prayer on his lips, "Lord, save sinners! Save them by thousands! Subdue them! Conquer them!"

John Smith, "the revivalist," was born in the same year, and died five years after his friend Stoner, whom he much resembled in everything except intellectual culture. His Life by Richard Treffry, Junior, with a remarkable essay by Dr. Dixon, is a Methodist classic. In early life he had been an adept and enthusiast in vice, glorving in the awful distinction which an athletic body and a desperate mind gave him among his associates. His muscular frame early succumbed, like Stoner's, to his consuming spiritual zeal. He excelled his friend in his marvelous success as a pastor, fishing for individual souls with rare skill. He seldom gave offense by this, but a wealthy lady resented it with some asperity. "Madam," said he, "you cannot prevent me loving your soul." The arrow entered, and her spirit was transformed. "His Christian individualism was complete," says Dr. Dixon; "he was a true original." His most remarkable characteristic was his faith. "His soul, his life, was a great belief. It affected his entire being. He seemed to hold nothing as impossible which was found in the promises of God." His sixteen years of ministry was one continual harvest of souls. "The solemnity of his manner, the vehemence of his appeals, the thunders of his stentorian voice, the force of his language, the deep pathos of his tones, the skill by which he individualized and made every person feel that he was the man, the point and force by which he touched, as by Ithuriel's spear, all which lodges deepest in the soul,

whether of fear or hope—all this made his messages like those of a prophet from the invisible world."

Hodgson Casson was another "original." Converted under the first Benjamin Gregory, his ministry commenced in 1815. He was a contrast to Stoner and Smith in his daring humor



REV. HODGSON CASSON.

and eccentricity. Among the coalheavers, bargemen, and sailors of Gateshead and Newcastle he witnessed miracles of grace. Tall, bigboned, with nerves of steel and lungs of leather, he could enter a tavern, ascend to the dancing room, and startle the revelers by his authoritative tones: "You have had dancing enough for a while, let us pray. Down upon your

knees, every man and woman of you!" The entire group seemed deprived of all power to resist him, the piping and dancing ceased, Casson's powerful voice was heard in prayer, the publican retreated, penitents cried and groaned, the drunken crowd below slunk away. Casson remained the livelong night, praying and exhorting until many of his strange congregation had obtained mercy and went home new creatures. And this was no isolated instance of his audacity, rendered successful only by his singleness of purpose

and earnest prayer. In Kilmarnock he went through the streets with a chair upon his shoulder, crying, "A loup! a loup!" (Scotch for a sale) and, gathering a great crowd, preached from "Come, buy wine and milk without money."

In the pulpit his humor was sometimes reckless, but his fervid appeals went home, and his own father and many of his early companions in revelry were among his converts. He often "rose a great while before day" for prayer, and this was one open secret of his success. He preached with intense passion. A tender-hearted surgeon followed him into the vestry at Sunderland, after an exhaustive service, and asked warningly, "Mr. Casson, how long do you mean to live?" "O, sir," gasped Casson with a heavenly smile, "I mean to live forever." An injury to his head, caused by the murderous blows of a band of papists who attacked him on his lonely way home one Sunday night, brought on the epilepsy which cut short his ministry of twenty-four years, and silenced the melodious tenor voice which he frequently used for sacred solos and outbursts of praise.

Thomas Collins (1810–1864) began his ministry the year after John Smith died, and gloriously maintained the succession. His Life, by Samuel Coley, is a masterpiece—epigrammatic, quaintly tesselated, and richly inlaid with gems of sparkling wisdom. It reveals a character of striking originality and force. His "childhood shows the man." Of his Warwickshire school days he says: "I crossed the hill over which I had so often gone to school. The slope that descends from its brow was in those days firmly believed by me to be the entrance of the Valley of Humiliation. On reaching that point it was my custom to draw and open a clasp knife, allowed me for dinner purposes, and which had been carefully

rubbed on the edge of a brick. Brandishing this formidable weapon, I ran through the hollow way, singing in defiance



THOMAS COLLINS.

The likeness is from a photograph taken during his last illness.

of Apollyon, whom I verily expected some day to meet there, Bunyan's verse:

But blessed Michael helpéd me, and I By dint of sword did quickly make him fly."

This boy, with his Apollyon-defiance and brain full of

strange queries, "found peace," as we have noted, under Gideon Ouseley, at the age of nine. He developed a remarkable personality, "learned to take hold on God," and preached with great felicity of diction and imagery. He heard Spurgeon preach in 1856, and wrote: "He did three capital things: he spoke vital truth, he spoke out, and he spoke home." This also Collins himself did, and in his Journal he was able to write: "I have seen sinners converted every day for some time. Sinners of all grades have been saved. I have only to abide with God in the closet, receive him, and then go among the people and break the alabaster box; they know the odor and love it." He was a man of great self-denial, and his liberality often made glad the hearts of the poor. His latter days were in harmony with a life so devoted. He peacefully breathed his last in his daughter's arms, December 27, 1864.

Probably no two books have done more to fan the flame of evangelism in the hearts of the present generation of ministers than Coley's Life of Collins and Arthur's Tongue of Fire. But ministers have not been the only instruments used by the Holy Spirit in the revivals of the nineteenth century.



CHAPTER CXXXVI

Typical Lay Preachers

THE CORNISH CLASS LEADER.—THE METAPHYSICIAN.—THE METHODIST HISTORIAN.—THE ELOQUENT FARMER.—THE BLACKSMITH.—THE SQUIRE.—THE DWARF.—THE THRASHER.—THE ENGINEER.

"THE tongue of fire," observes William Arthur, "rested upon each disciple, and all spoke with a superhuman utterance. Not the twelve only, the Lord's chosen apostles; not the seventy only, the commissioned evangelists; but also the ordinary believers, and even the women." And Methodism, as a revival of primitive Christianity, did not leave the ordinary believers as mere spectators, to see the spiritual work of the Lord committed wholly to the selected ministry. It did recognize a high and solemn ministry, but from that ministry it swept away all seeming of priesthood. The evangelistic work of the laity illustrates this.

William Carvosso, a skillful Cornish farmer, was converted in 1771 and became a leader of eleven classes. He was not a preacher, but for over sixty years, in the intervals of farming, he went about the villages winning hundreds of souls by prayer and conversation. In his old age he learned to write, that he might counsel his numerous converts. He saw the Cornish membership increase from two thousand three hundred to eighteen thousand during his career, and his marvel-

ous personal influence contributed largely to this, for wherever he went revivals occurred. He lived "in an extraordinary manner under the realizing light of faith," says one who knew him well. "He spoke with awe of the majesty of

God, and of his consciousness of being surrounded by the divine presence. Sound speech was the common dress of his thoughts. He was no captive of wild enthusiasm. His charm lay in a simplicity, a sweetness, a pathos, a divine unction which led men to call him 'a lay Saint John.'"

Samuel Drew, M.A., was a Cornishman of another type. He was the skeptical shoemaker who saw



WILLIAM CARVOSSO.

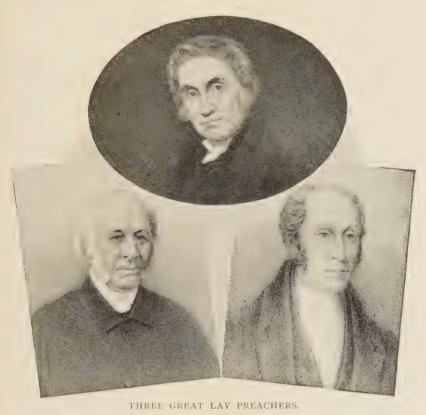
The most celebrated of Methodist class leaders.

Adam Clarke borne over the heads of the crowd, through the window of St. Austell Chapel, till, without touching the floor, he was landed safely in the pulpit. A sermon of Dr. Clarke's in 1785 led Drew into the light of sacred truth, to which he bore testimony as a local preacher and writer until his death, in 1833. He was a vigorous thinker, and a student, first of astronomy, then history, and finally of philosophy and theology. Milton, Pope, Cowper, and

especially Goldsmith—whose Deserted Village he committed to memory-provided him with a good vocabulary. Industry and economy in business brought him increasing leisure, and he published a Refutation of Paine's Age of Reason, an Essay on the Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul, and a Treatise on the Being and Attributes of God. In 1819, becoming editor of the Imperial Magazine, he quitted business, removing to Liverpool and after-His thoughtful and argumentative ward to London. preaching riveted attention by skillful illustrations and intense fervor. The leaders of Methodism were among his cordial friends—Coke, whom he assisted in literary work; Clarke, Watson, Treffry, and Jackson. In his earlier years we see him seated on his cobbler's stool, in his later life he is offered the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of London; he begins work as "Sammy the Shoemaker," he ends as Samuel Drew, M.A., the metaphysician, of Marischal College, Aberdeen. He was no abstracted recluse, but a charming converser. His wife died during his editorial term, and he never recovered from the blow. "When she died my earthly sun set forever," he said; and four years later his loneliness was increased by the death of his lifelong friend, Adam Clarke. "The metaphysician" entered into everlasting light exclaiming, "I have the fullest hope and the most unshaken confidence in the mercy of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ." "O glorious sunshine! Yes, blessed be God, when the door is opened I shall enter in!"

A third type of Cornishman—quaint, humorous, eccentric—was represented by Billy Bray, the Bible Christian, whose Life has been written by the Rev. F. W. Bourne. He delighted to be known as "the King's son," and was famous for his faith in the power of prayer. Another original was

Richard Hampden, or "Foolish Dick;" half-witted in everything but the art of soul-winning. Many a tradition lingers of the immediate saving effects of his appeals and fireside



EDWARD BROOKE.

SAMUEL DREW.

TIMOTHY HACKWORTH.

talks. Mr. Spurgeon was deeply moved by reading his Life by Christophers.

In striking contrast with these sanctified oddities was George Smith, LL.D., F.A.S., of Camborne, the Methodist historian, whose "noble presence," says Mark Guy Pearse, "and massive, resolute face were lit up by such goodness and

grace that it always seemed to me like the shining of the sea upon our Cornish granite—strength and beauty; the pillar crowned with lily-work as in the temple of old—such were



DICK HAMPDEN.

A successful lay preacher.

my thoughts when as a lad I looked at him." Dr. Rigg describes him as a self-made man, a working man, an inventor, an employer, a man of property, a man of immense influence. "Few men had more influence in the west of Cornwall than he had as a business man. But he was much more than a man of business—he was a student of principles; a student of Scripture and of history. He was an historian of his country and his county; he was a lay preacher, and in every sense a leader in his own Church, a great man in Methodist Israel. He understood the prin-

ciples of his Church, and in an admirable work wrote its history. Beside him stands Thomas Garland, as graceful and finished a speaker as Methodism ever produced. And completing the trio is Captain Charles Thomas, of Dolcoath Mine."

Yorkshire Methodism has produced some famous local preachers. William Dawson, a yeoman farmer (1773-1841), attained almost national celebrity. "The blaze of his popular eloquence," says one hearer (Dr. Gregory), "has cast too much into the shade his marked superiority as a theologian and expositor, and the almost feminine tenderness of heart that beat in his stalwart active frame." When he preached in Great Queen Street Chapel, London, a fortnight before his death, his hearers were yet more impressed by his doctrinal and exegetic power than by the vividness of his imagination and his wonderful dramatic energy. A Lancashire hearer describes him as "a square-shouldered man with kneebreeches and top boots. Keen, glowing eyes shine under his overhanging brows; false hair, which he will often adjust with both hands as he speaks, half hides his broad, lofty, prominent forehead. 'All God's children have much the same tale to tell of the way he has led them,' says he. 'Let us call some of them up to speak. Now, Adam Clarke, you can speak sixteen languages; tell us about your conversion.' And the great doctor, by the lips of the preacher, speaks of patient waiting on God, merciful forgiveness and redemption. Then the call is, 'Barnabas Shaw! you are a missionary some of your converted Africans speak in a love feast. What can they say?' The converted heathens say just what the learned doctor said! 'Now,' goes on the preacher, 'you have had a great revival here. One of you drunkards and swearers that were saved, tell us how it was with you.' Then in trembling tones the subdued English rebel tells how he, who seemed lost forever, has been rescued by the Almighty Saviour. It is the same story! 'Now,' says Mr. Dawson, 'what does a king say? "I waited patiently for the Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. He brought

me up out of a horrible pit." Ah! what pit more dreadful than that where a sinner lies in the darkness of a guilty conscience! The king knew what it was to lie in that pit; and there was no way out of it for him but the way that all whom we have heard to-night have taken. There is a chain let down into the black, horrible pit! It reaches down very near to hell—and up not only to the gate of heaven, but to the very throne! See the links of that chain: one is God's love, one his mercy, one his grace, one his truth—they are past counting; but the chain is long enough—it is strong enough—it hangs within thy very reach! Seize it, poor, despairing sinner-hold fast to it, and thou shalt rise! Fear not, for see how all these who are now saints of God have risen, clinging to this chain; it has lifted them out of the horrible pitdoubt not but it can save thee! But refuse to trust it-and thou art lost forever!""

John Angel James witnesses to Dawson's "force of genius and command of striking illustrations," and another eminent Congregationalist, Dr. Stoughton, who describes him as "eloquent and histrionic, too," remembers his famous missionary "telescope speech," in which he rolled up his resolution, put it to his eye, and described what he saw, in imagination, of the coming millennium of Isaiah's prophecies. His humor was sometimes hilarious, but his earnest spiritual purpose won many souls besides David Stoner's. He died in 1841, leaning back in his chair, grasping his staff, and repeating:

Let me in life, in death,

Thy steadfast truth declare;

And publish with my latest breath

Thy love and guardian care.

Another Yorkshireman of note was Sammy Hick, the village blacksmith of Micklefield, who had earned and saved



WILLIAM DAWSON.



enough at the anvil to devote himself in 1826 to evangelizing neglected districts. His racy sayings, powerful prayers, and beneficent visits are among the family traditions of the laboring people, while cultivated minds appreciated his genius and unique character. At Burnley he found the mills stopped, the people starving, and a hungry child eating potato peelings from an ash pit. He said he could not stay in the town unless the people were fed. He went alone to the mansion of



SAMMY HICK'S SMITHY, MICKLEFIELD.

"The village smithy became a temple where the God of Israel was glorified in the salvation of sinners,"

a great Roman Catholic landowner named Townley and told the tale of misery so effectively that he came away with £100, which was distributed in food. The people laughed and wept under the teaching of this Greatheart, whose bluish-gray eyes sparkled with wit and love, and whose six feet of bone and muscle, shoulders round from sledge-hammer work, and broad dialect, all contributed to the force of his well-forged sermons.

"Squire" Edward Brooke, of Honley, near Huddersfield (1799-1871), came from a higher social circle than the blacksmith. He was a robust sportsman, famed for his horsemanship, fond of his dogs, born to a fortune. In 1821 a Primitive Methodist preacher, Thomas Holladay, met him on the moors, shooting, respectfully saluted him, and said with pitying earnestness, "Master, you are seeking happiness where you will never find it." The sportsman himself went homeward, wounded. A revival was in progress at the time. He stood spellbound by a cottage door listening to prayers and songs, went home to wrestle for salvation, and at four in the morning roused two praying men of the village to tell them Christ had saved him. For forty years he preached in unconventional style in Huddersfield district, and all sorts and conditions of men were converted. At his first love feast he told the people, "The camel has got through the needle's eye."

At the other end of the social scale was Jonathan Saville, who began life as a workhouse boy and a parish apprentice in a pit. He was so brutally treated that he became a deformed dwarf for life, limping with a broken thigh. Converted under Benson, he became a local preacher in 1803. Among his many converts was the daughter of the workhouse overseer—the woman in whose house he had been maimed. "O, Lord!" he cried, "now thou hast repaid me for all my sufferings in this house." Dr. Gregory, who knew him, says that his quaint form, his massive head and kindly face, in the deep lines of which the sprite of humor seemed always to be flitting to and fro, might have suggested the nucleus of a thrilling novel to a romantic genius such as George Eliot or Currer Bell; and indeed the bright dwarf's life was as full of wonderment, though not of weirdness, as that of the orig-

inal of Scott's Black Dwarf. But, better still, this lame pedestrian philanthropist could sing:

Contented now, upon my thigh I halt. . . . Lame as I am, I take the prey.

* * * * * * *

I leap for joy, pursue my way,

And, as a bounding hart, fly home.

As a soul-winner he was mighty. "The bow of Jonathan



THREE ELOQUENT LAYMEN.

JONATHAN SAVILLE.

CHARLES RICHARDSON,
"The Lincolnshire Thrasher."

SAMMY HICK, "The Consecrated Smith."

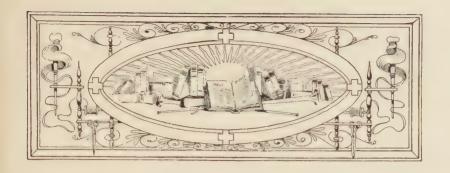
turned not back." On the platform he was still more popular than in the pulpit.

"The Lincolnshire Thrasher," Charles Richardson (1791–1864), was a typical peasant preacher, wearing a white smock frock until a coat of broadcloth was presented to him, which lasted twenty years. By turns he was thatcher as well as thrasher, hedger and ditcher, whitewasher and woolwinder, shepherd and sheep-shearer, butcher, gardener, and carpenter; and, finally, his master's counselor and friend. For years

he was chaplain in his family, conducting household worship morning and evening. He thought out his sermons as he labored. "I can think and thrash," said he. Whole villages were turned to God by this sturdy laborer. Thomas Bush was another rural revivalist—a well-to-do farmer who went about Berkshire preaching, planting chapels, building up Methodism, and almost idolized by the people among whom he labored until 1847.

Among English railway engineers Timothy Hackworth holds a high place as an associate of the Stephensons, manager of the Stockton and Darlington railway from 1825, and an inventor. He was a fine specimen of the intelligent, tenacious, manly engineer, and excelled in the blended strength and tenderness of his preaching.

Dr. Fairbairn, in his Religion in History and in Modern Life, notices the effect of lay preaching on the working classes of England. "It is the local preacher rather than the secularist lecturer who has, while converting the soul, really formed the mind of the miner and laborer." "Methodism in all its several branches," says this principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, "has done more for the conversion and reconciliation of certain of the industrial classes to religion than any other English Church."



CHAPTER CXXXVII

Dinah Morris and the Methodist Sisterhood

George Eliot's Adam Bede.—The Originals of Dinah Morris and *Hetty Sorrel.—"My Methodist Aunt Samuel."—Fact and Fiction.—Mary Taft.—Women Preachers.—"Neither Asterisks nor Asteroids."

A MONG the prophesying daughters of Methodism of the first half of the nineteenth century were two famous preachers. One of these was the Dinah Morris of George Eliot's Adam Bede. Her name was Elizabeth Tomlinson. She was born at Newbold, Leicestershire, in 1775, and lost her mother in infancy. When she was a lacemender at Nottingham her skill brought her good wages, and cards, dancing, and the theater delighted her, until she grew weary of such pleasures and went to a Methodist service. She fainted under the excitement of deep conviction, but her conversion was complete, and her new life was manifested in philanthropic service. Visiting a family sick with typhus, she caught the fever. After her recovery she visited Derby, and in the old chapel where Wesley had preached she related her experiences.

At Nottingham Assizes, in 1801, a girl named Mary Voce was sentenced to death for child murder, and Miss Tomlinson was permitted to visit her and to spend the night with

her in the cell. The poor girl was brought to penitent confession. It was this story, told to her niece "George Eliot" (Mary Ann Evans), which suggested to the novelist the character of Hetty Sorrel. The real Hetty was not reprieved. George Eliot writes: "The germ of Adam Bede was an

anecdote told me by my Methodist Aunt Samuel (the wife of my father's younger brother); an anecdote from her own experience. We were sitting together one afternoon during her visit to me at Griff, probably in 1839 or 1840, when it occurred to her to tell me how she had vis-



THE OLD CHAPEL, DERBY, 1765. Where Dinah Morris told her experience.

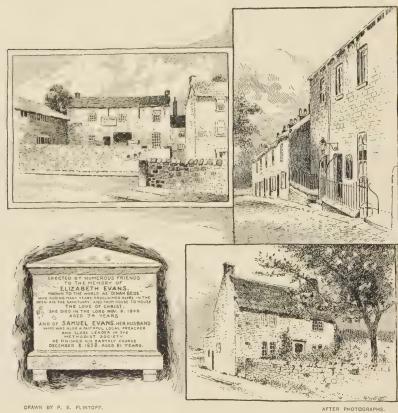
ited a condemned criminal, a very ignorant girl, who had murdered her child and refused to confess; how she had stayed with her praying through the night, and how the poor creature at last burst into tears and confessed her crime. My aunt afterward went with her in the cart to the place of execution; and she described to me the great respect with which this ministry of hers was regarded by the prison officials. The story, told by my aunt with great feeling, affected me deeply, and I never lost the impression of that afternoon and our talk together."

Elizabeth Tomlinson was married to Samuel Evans at St. Mary's Church, Nottingham, in 1804. He was a local preacher and class leader and first heard Elizabeth preach at Ashbourne. "Her doctrine," he writes. "was sound and plain. Simplicity, love, and sweetness were blended in her. Her whole heart was in the work." He long pressed his suit before she yielded, but their marriage was a happy one. Samuel was the Seth of the novel. "Most people in reading Adam Bede," writes Mr. Cooper of Derby, "feel that Seth and Dinah were intended for each other, and undoubtedly it was an ill suggestion of George Lewes which made it otherwise. The fact is finer than the fiction from any point of view."

At Roston, on the Dove, Derbyshire, and afterward at Derby, Mr. and Mrs. Evans united in the work of religious revival. At Derby, Elizabeth Fry recognized a sister philanthropist in Mrs. Evans. Some years later they removed to Wirksworth, and in their cottage by the mill they were visited by George Eliot. Their names appeared as local preachers on the Cromford Circuit plan up to 1832, when the Conference decided that women preachers should not be encouraged. Dr. Bunting advised the superintendent to indicate Mrs. Evans's appointments by an asterisk only. To this Mrs. Evans did not consent, and for a few years she and her husband joined a little society of "Arminian Methodists," but they afterward returned to the Wesleyan society.

In 1837, when George Eliot, a girl of eighteen, was her father's housekeeper at Griff, she wrote to her Methodist aunt, begging for a letter: "I will be as grateful to you for a draught from your fresh spring as the traveler in the Eastern desert is to the unknown hand that digs a well for him. Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel, seems to be my

character, instead of that regular progress from strength to strength that marks, even in this world of mistakes, the people that shall in the heavenly Zion stand before God." A



MEMORIALS OF "DINAH MORRIS."

Old Arminian Chapel, Wirksworth.

Memorial tablet in Wesleyan Chapel,

Wirksworth.

Wesleyan Chapel, Wirksworth, where the Evans worshiped. Bede cottage, Wirksworth, home of Elizabeth and Samuel Evans,

month later she writes: "You were very kind to remember my wish to see Mrs. Fletcher's Life. I only desire such a spiritual digestion as has enabled you to derive so much benefit from its perusal. I feel that my besetting sin is the one of all others most destroying, as it is the fruitful parent of them all—ambition; a desire insatiable for the esteem of my fellow-creatures."

George Eliot's own account of her aunt and her relation to the character of Dinah Morris is very interesting: "I was glad to see my aunt," she writes. "Although I had only heard her spoken of as a strange person, given to a fanatical · vehemence of exhortation in private as well as public, I believed that I should find sympathy between us. She was then an old woman-above sixty-and, I believe, had for a good many years given up preaching. A tiny little woman, with bright, small, dark eyes, and hair that had been black but was now gray—a pretty woman in her youth, but of a totally different physical type from Dinah. The difference, as you will believe, was not simply physical; no difference is. She was a woman of strong natural excitability, which, I know from the description I have heard my father and half-sister give, prevented her from the exercise of discretion under the promptings of her zeal. But this vehemence was now subdued by age and sickness; she was very gentle and quiet in her manners—very loving—and (what she must have been from the first) a truly religious soul, in whom the love of God and love of man were fused together. . . . Though she left the society when women were no longer allowed to preach . . . she retained the character of thought that belongs to the genuine old Wesleyan. I had never talked with a Wesleyan before, and we used to have little debates about predestination, for I was then a strong Calvinist. Here her superiority came out."

"Dinah Morris" died, after a lingering illness, in 1849, preaching, even in her delirium, sermons as eloquent as any she had delivered on Roston Green—sermons like those which the great novelist wrote "with hot tears." The memorial



MRS. ELIZABETH TOMLINSON EVANS.

The aunt of George Eliot and the original of the "Dinah Morris" of Adam Bede.

tablet in Wirksworth Wesleyan Chapel shows that Samuel Evans died nine years later.

We need not tell here how the brilliant niece roamed far away from "the fresh spring" of which she wrote so touchingly to her Weslevan aunt. It will suffice to quote the words of a literary man who was not a Methodist, Mr. R. H. Hutton, of the Saturday Review: "It can hardly be doubted that the pervading melancholy of her tales is at least in some degree due to the false step which she herself, under the influence of a negative school of human thought, had deliberately taken when she sacrificed her own life to the ends of a connection out of which most of the joy and all the sacredness were taken by the unnatural and morally humiliating circumstances under which she entered it. . . . In story after story she attempted to impress upon others the absolute sacredness of the relations to which her own action had apparently shown her to be indifferent." Two Methodist Fernley lecturers—the Revs. W. L. Watkinson and T. G. Selby—have dealt with George Eliot's life and teaching. The former finds in her life evidence of the moral impotence of mere philosophy and culture; the latter considers that, "with all her drawbacks of creed and character, the testimony she bears to much that is of the very essence of religion is scarcely less precious than her contributions to literature."

Another famous preacher was Mary Barritt, born at Hay, Lancashire, in 1772. She married Rev. Zacharias Taft. Her father was bitterly opposed to all religion, and to Methodism especially; and when her brother became one of Wesley's preachers he had to sacrifice the farm which his father offered him as a bribe to remain at home. When Mary Barritt began to conduct services as well as to visit she met with much opposition, but the remarkable success of her calm, powerful addresses removed many prejudices. Her brother

allowed her to work in his circuit at White Haven, and more than a hundred persons were added to the Church. At Nottingham five hundred joined the societies in three months.



MRS. TAFT (MARY BARRITT).

REV. JOHN BARRITT. REV. ZACHARIAS TAFT.

Two future Conference presidents were among her converts, Joseph Taylor and Thomas Jackson.

Dr. Gregory met Mr. and Mrs. Taft in the Ilkeston Circuit

in 1842, and says that the "Lancashire lass," as she was called, was recognized by everyone who heard her, gentle or simple—and that despite the most cherished prejudice—as one of the mightiest and most successful preachers of her time. Joseph Benson had not heard her, but he wrote a caustic letter to her husband, and thought that Mrs. Taft should decline ascending the pulpits of the chapels in Dover "unless Mr. Sykes, Mr. Rogers, and you be less sufficient for your work than the Conference supposed you to be." The superintendent, Mr. Sykes, wrote in her defense: "I dare not oppose her. . . . More than a year and a half ago Mary Barritt was strongly pressed by our Hull friends to visit them; the elders of the society sat in counsel on the subject; the conclusion was not to admit her into the pulpit, but to allow her to stand by a little desk in the chapel. But, after once hearing this ram's horn, prejudice fell down like the walls of Jericho, the pulpit door gave way and this King's daughter entered. The chapel could not contain the people; hundreds stood in the street. She then preached to thousands, and solemn reverence sat on their countenances to the very skirts of the huge assembly."

The sagacious ex-president, John Pawson, and Bramwell, the revivalist, encouraged her. Even Dr. Bunting suggested that her appointments, like Mrs. Evans's, might be indicated by an asterisk. Dr. Gregory pungently comments: "The elect ladies were neither asterisks nor asteroids, but stars of the first magnitude; and the great mass of Derbyshire hearers preferred workmanly preaching from the lips of a woman to effeminate effusions from the lips of a man." "The lady whom it seems most natural to compare with Mrs. Taft is Mrs. Booth. They were alike in their masculine self-possession and self-consciousness, in their sedate, decorous, ma-

tronly demeanor, in simplicity of dress and speech, and in a solid basis of intelligence—but Mrs. Taft was far more fluent than Mrs. Booth."

The venerable Thomas Jackson, her spiritual son, describes her preaching as "methodical," dealing with great fundamental Gospel truths, and aimed directly at the conversion of her hearers. "It was a happiness to converse so freely

with this saintly heroine in her declining days, when her gray, sober-suited morn of hardy outdoor toil and her fervid noon and afternoon of brave and eloquent evangelism had softened into the mellow luster of a tranquil eventide. I never heard from those lips which had so often glowed with 'a live coal from the altar' one word of detraction or of egotism, of boasting or censoriousness; but all was love and joy and peace."



CLARISSA CHRISTIAN.
Of Hinde Street Chapel, aged 101.

Many other Methodist women deserve a place in history. There was Clarissa Christian, of Hinde Street, London, who died in 1847 at the age of one hundred and one, after eighty years of service to the poor and sinful as devoted as that of the modern sisters in the great missions. Miss Tooth was another noted lady leader, who tested the gravity of doughty Dr. Dixon by her ready reply when he expressed his surprise at finding her name on the class book as Miss Tooth—instead of the usual plain Christian name. "I thought it

out of order," said the doctor, "and so I read loudly, 'Miss Tooth, Miss Tooth,' purposely emphasizing the Miss, to show that I thought it a peculiar and irregular style for a class book. 'Yes, sir,' sharply replied the lady; 'yes, sir,



Miss Tooth! More shame to the gentlemen that it should be Miss Tooth still.' What could I say to this? I pocketed my share of the shame and said nothing. It was no use to reason with a woman like that." But women like that kept their class meetings alive. Another remarkable lady was Anne Lutton, of Moira, Ireland, latterly of Bristol (1791–1881); a linguist, musician, philanthropist, saint, the Memo-

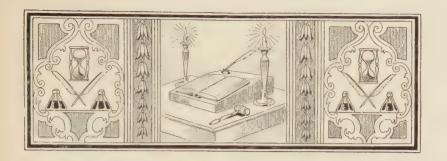
rials of whose consecrated life contain selections from her diary, letters, and poems. And there was Mary McCarthy, the "Angel of Chequer Alley," near City Road; an Irish forewoman in a lace factory, who also anticipated the sancti-



COW'S PLACE, CHEQUER ALLEY.

Scene of Mary McCarthy's mission, near City Road, 1836-1866.

fied ingenuity of modern missions and gathered seven hundred members into church fellowship from among the most helpless and degraded denizens of the London slums. And besides these was a host of true "sisters of the people" to whom as yet that honorable title was unknown.



CHAPTER CXXXVIII

The Great Tribune and the Pulpit Prince

DR. JABEZ BUNTING, THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATESMAN.—HIS PLACE IN METHODIST HISTORY.—HIS PERSONALITY, PREACHING, AND POLITY.—DR. ROBERT NEWTON, THE EVANGELICAL ORATOR.—HIS VISIT TO AMERICA.—HIS NOBLE AIM AND CHARACTER.

HE greatest ecclesiastical statesman of the middle age of Methodism was Jabez Bunting. For forty years the legislation of Conference bore the impress of his mind, and the history of Methodist institutions follows the lines of his personal history. To other Churches and the general public he was, next to Adam Clarke, the best known representative of the Methodism of his day, and men like Dr. Chalmers and the fathers of the Evangelical Alliance recognized in him, to use their own words, "a prince and a great man."

Mary Redfern married a Derbyshire tailor, William Bunting, who had settled at Manchester, where their son Jabez was born in 1779. The child received Wesley's blessing, heard him preach, and saw him depart from Manchester for the last time in 1790. The lad was surrounded by an atmosphere of pious refinement in his lowly home, and at sixteen had been well grounded at school in mathematics, the Septuagint and Greek Testament, Greek and Latin classics, the

Hebrew Psalter, and much besides. He called Joseph Benson his spiritual father. Under the eminent Dr. Percival, F.R.S., he became a medical student. He relinquished brilliant professional prospects to become a Methodist minister in 1799, walking to his first circuit, Oldham, with a pair of saddle bags over his shoulder containing all his possessions—including fourteen skeleton sermons. His uncle, who was also his class leader, walked with him. The old man's heart was full, and at a lone spot by the wayside they knelt down, he asked God's blessing and gave his own, and they parted. Thus began a ministerial course of well-nigh sixty years.

Bunting bore a striking resemblance to his great contemporary, William Pitt. Like the statesman-orator he early became eminent. Assistant secretary of Conference in 1806, and president in 1820, he was the youngest man, excepting Coke, ever so honored. As with Pitt, his transcendent speaking power, his self-possession and self-control, his perfect mastery of economics and finance, were manifest from the first. "Both were firm and ardent friends of civil and religious liberty, yet both counseled stringent measures for the maintenance of law and order." As Pitt was "the greatest master of parliamentary government that ever existed," so "Bunting was the greatest master of Connectional Church government." He even more resembled Alexander Hamilton, the great American statesman, whom Guizot describes as "the genius who most powerfully contributed to introduce into the Constitution of the United States elements of order. force, and duration."

Bunting was not only an ecclesiastical statesman, he was a powerful preacher. His early maturity was as remarkable in the pulpit as on the platform. At the close of his probation he was sent to London, and at once took his place among the



REV. JABEZ BUNTING, D.D.



pulpit princes, they themselves being judges. Dr. Leifchild, whom the eloquent Judge Talford pronounced one of the greatest orators of the age, seized every opportunity of hearing young Bunting, and was struck with his "flow of strong, manly sense that held the audience in breathless attention." His imposing, erect, yet flexible form, free from all drilled attitude; his perfect simplicity of manner, blue-gray eye, comely though not handsome face, commanding voice, dignified delivery, and consummate elocution were in accordance with his simplicity and strength of style and thought. Those who went to hear him as a brilliant orator were quickly undeceived. He lacked originality, the plans of his sermons presented no novelty or ingenuity. The rhetorical Dr. Beaumont declared that Bunting "never had an original idea in either hemisphere of his brain." He lacked the superb imaginativeness of his friend Watson. His illustrations were few. But his preaching was redeemed from tameness and insipidity by what his son calls its "sincerity . . . the manifestation of the truth with manifest truth of purpose;" its keen incisiveness, its authoritativeness, its earnestness and energy, and, above all, by its heart-searching application. Dr. Osborn says, "The whole audience was made to feel that God is speaking by this man." It was at the request and in the presence of the Conference of 1812 that he preached his celebrated sermon on Justification by Faith.

A bare record of Bunting's administrative work would fill a volume. He saved the Book Room from financial ship-wreck, he drafted plans of connectional finance, he took a leading part in organizing the Missionary Society in 1813; the next year he was elected into the Legal Conference on the sole ground of his manifest capacity; it was he who led the Conference to decide that every fourth election to the

Hundred should be on the ground of fitness, and not of seniority. He was elected secretary of the Conference in 1814;

Lines written in a Porket - Testament.

Tracking, " To live is Christ, to die is gain".

(Monorphyse "To live is Christ, to die is gain".

(Monorphyse "To live is Christ, to die is gain".

(Monorphyses)

Javez Pounting, Harrogate . Sept. 19. 1833.

FACSIMILE OF REV. JABEZ BUNTING'S WRITING.

in the same year he proposed the formation of the General Chapel Fund, and four years later the Children's Fund. In 1818 he became senior Missionary Secretary, and three years later he was editor of the magazine. He was the foremost advocate of the educational training of candidates for the ministry and for the development of lay cooperation with the ministers. "The two poles of his policy were 'pastoral rights and responsibilities," on the one hand, and 'popular rights and responsibilities," on the other. His aim was to develop both, simultaneously and symmetrically." During his first presidency (1820) he drew up the famous Liverpool Minutes, which present the ideal Methodist preacher and his work and are solemnly read in every district synod to-day. For years he advocated not only an adequate training and probation, but a public and solemn ordination to the ministry,

and in the year of his third presidency he saw this consummated at the Birmingham Conference in 1836. He was the first man to be elected to the presidential chair four times, and the only one so honored except his friend Robert Newton. He was a born speaker, financier, administrator, and debater. He never sought office, it was the office that sought him. In rising to the top he simply found his level.

Dr. Gregory, who claims to have no rival in "affectionate admiration and in all but filial reverence" for Dr. Bunting, who says, "He was in fact our Cincinnatus and our Washington," admits "one cardinal defect" in this truly great man. His own designation of it was "impetuosity." But the flaw in the diamond is more aptly indicated by the fine-pointed pen of his filial biographer, T. P. Bunting: he was congenitally "masterful." The actual government of Methodism at this period was an autocracy strengthened by an oligarchy. It cannot be denied, to use his son's words, that "he and a few others, influenced by him, managed the affairs of the connection." This is the impression produced by his biography on outsiders. Thus the article in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, whose one authority is this tasteful, truthful memoir, affirms, "His word was law." This is an exaggerated notion, but happily the other sentence in the summing up is absolutely impregnable: "He used his influence for no personal ends, and withal kept his heart pure and humble."

The council of the Evangelical Alliance also, in a resolution already quoted, "could not but account him a prince and a great man; he was at the same time as a little child in the midst of them," and they feel that their tribute would be most imperfect were they not to bear their testimony to "the uniform humbleness of mind and modesty of demeanor which characterized their venerable friend." The great Scotchmen

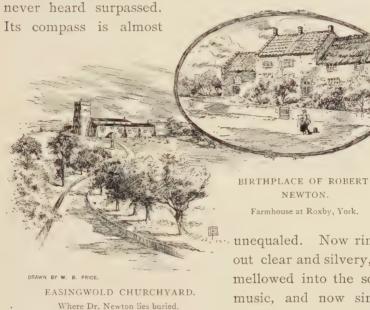
who were founders of the Free Church were just as strongly impressed with Dr. Bunting's true greatness and simplicity when he visited Edinburgh in 1846–7.

This imperial Methodist statesman finished his course in 1858, in his eightieth year; having done more than any other man since Wesley died to mold the Wesleyan Methodist societies into a fully equipped Church.

Robert Newton (1780-1854) was for half a century the most popular Methodist preacher in Britain. He entered the ministry the same year as his friend Bunting, and, like him, was four times president. Bunting's son well says that Newton's renown rests upon qualities which do not fairly bring him within the range of comparison with his friend or with Richard Watson. He stood alone—the prince of preachers to the common people. On the platform of missionary and Bible societies he was supreme. His brethren ungrudgingly recognized his popular gifts, and he was appointed to central circuits from which he could find coaches to all parts of England. In 1836 Dr. Wilbur Fisk, the American representative at Birmingham, suggested the appointment of Newton as representative to America in 1840. The American Methodists hailed Newton as the most popular English orator since Whitefield. He laid the foundation stone of the new Methodist Episcopal Church in Bedford Street, New York. He preached before the General Conference and also in the "Grand Hall" at Washington before the House of Representatives. His sermons and addresses were triumphs of natural oratory, and marked by the rich unction which was the outcome of his manly and fervent piety. His final leavetaking was like the departure of an apostle.

The Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post described Newton as "tall, well-knit, with broad shoulders, massy head—no bad

representative of his nation so far as air and figure are concerned. He glances boldly and fearlessly around upon his hearers." Everyone admired "the richness of his voice, whose every word is music and whose lower tones we have

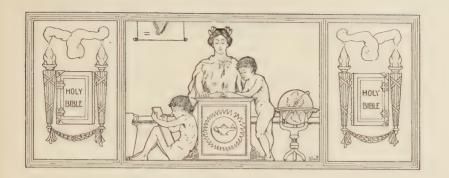


unequaled. Now ringing out clear and silvery, now mellowed into the softest music, and now sinking into a deep, rolling, sonor-

ous bass." He is "simple even to severity. He seems to have but one aim in view: to convince his audience. On that he fixes his eye; to it he addresses every nerve; and, like the ancient Greek in the race, he casts off everything that will impede his progress; regardless of all if he can only win the goal."

It was this intense sincerity of purpose, which struck even the professional reporter, that made men forget the orator in his evangelical message. Sagacious Thomas Jackson, his biographer, who never exaggerated, declared that during an acquaintance of half a century he was unable to detect a flaw

in Newton's character. His indescribable grace of manner, his "big brotherliness," his infectious joy and charity, and his unaffected sanctity captivated the hearts of his brethren and the masses of the people in Great Britain and Ireland. "He would never betray a trust; he would never be faithless to a friend; he would never, for the sake of expediency, sacrifice righteousness and truth. He had no whims, no eccentricities, no singularities, no affectation. A true Wesleyan, he was the friend of all and the enemy of none. From the pulpit he often addressed words of kindness and sympathy to his "brethren upon the free seats;" and it was most gratifying to see poor men and women surrounding him, when he retired from the chapels where he had been preaching, requesting a shake of his hand, and telling him of some members of their families at distant places who had been converted under his ministry."



CHAPTER CXXXIX

The Educational Era and Its Men of Mark

"CAN WE HAVE A SEMINARY?"—DR. WILBUR FISK, THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE.—RICHARD WATSON, THE THEOLOGIAN.—THE FIRST PROFESSORS.—A GROUP OF "LIBERALS."—DR. BUNTING "A KILHAMITE!"—SOME MIGHTY PREACHERS.

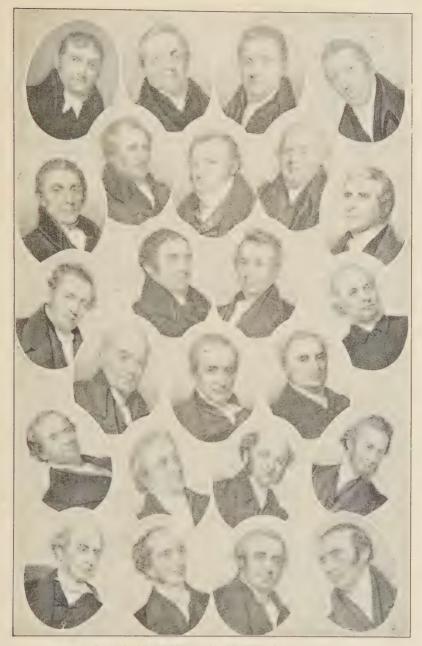
T his first and second Conferences Wesley asked, "Can we have a seminary for laborers?" but the answer was, "Not till God gives us a proper tutor." Some of his preachers, however, received preliminary training at Kingswood School, and all of them were urged to hard reading by their ubiquitous chief, who compiled his Christian Library for their benefit. Thomas Olivers strove with all his might, but strove in vain, to secure a seminary. Adam Clarke in 1806 wrote an impassioned letter on the subject, which the Conference published. In 1823 the Conference directed J. Gaulter (president in 1817), J. Bunting, T. Jackson, and R. Watson to prepare a report on the subject. Watson wrote the report; the Conference approved of its principles, but its proposals were thought to be impracticable, and the first theological institution at Hoxton was not opened until 1834, with Bunting as president, Entwisle as house governor, and John Hannah as theological tutor. A seces-

1317

sion of the opponents of the movement, led by Dr. Warren, followed a year later.

The presence of Dr. Wilbur Fisk, the American representative, at the Birmingham Conference of 1836 was most opportune. He had inaugurated the educational era in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was the most effective "advocate of a rich, sound, solid training for the evangelic pastorate." He was just in time to encourage the British Conference in its educational proposals. This same Conference sanctioned the foundation of Wesley College, Sheffield, for the sons of the laity. It also decided on the ordination of ministers by imposition of hands, and Dr. Fisk assisted in the first ceremony. Dr. Gregory describes him as the most graceful speaker, both in language and elocution, he had ever listened to. "He had been trained for the bar, his eloquence was forensic in its conciliatoriness. He stood before us the apostle of Christian culture. He was a fine specimen of that persuasive rhetoric and that nice sense of suitability in which Americans so much excel." He did much in the British Conference to promote a good understanding in relation to the complicated question of slavery. Two years later his sonorous voice was silenced by death.

Richard Watson (1796–1833) was the greatest theological thinker and teacher of his day. Dr. Clarke surpassed him in versatile scholarship, but not in intellectual power. Dr. Bunting possessed greater capacity for the management of men and the conduct of affairs. But Bunting's filial biographer truly says: "Watson trod daily, with stately yet familiar air, the highest walks of truth; and not seldom presumed into the heaven of heavens itself and breathed empyreal air, so that he often spake rather as one haunted by the memories of things which he had heard, but which it was not lawful for



A GROUP OF PRESIDENTS OF THE CONFERENCE.

Rev. Jona. Crowther. Rev. Jonathan Edmondson. Rev. John Gaulter. Rev. George Marsden. Rev. R. Treffery. Rev. J. Townlev. Rev. J. Stephens Rev. G. Morley. Rev. S. Jackson. Rev. Edmund Grindrod. Rev. Joseph Taylor. Rev. John Scott. Rev. C. Prest. Rev. William Atherton. Rev. Jacob Stanley. Rev. John Becchan. Rev. Jaac Keeling. Rev. John Lomas. Rev. John Farrar. Rev. John Rattenbury. Rev. John Bowers. Rev. Francis A. West. Rev. Robert Young. Rev. Robert Newton.



him to utter, than as one yet in the body. . . . His heart was full of sympathies, but they were with ideas and with things rather than with men; for his was a proud spirit and had been bruised at a time when it could hardly bear any touch but that of Him who made it. Yet how vivid is the recollection of that lip, now curling with scorn and now, quickly, composed into placidity, and relaxing into a heavenly smile!"

Richard Watson stood six feet two inches. He was very thin. His forehead was immense, but exquisitely molded, and as if elaborately modeled. His eyes were dark, but flashing. "His long, shapely, cogitative nose gave a Grecian cast to a face strongly expressive of his genius and his character," and "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." His voice was deep, mellow, musical, and well modulated. Byron's description of the Coliseum at Rome portrays in one line the great Richard Watson as he was two years and a half before his death: "Simple, erect, august, severe, sublime." Watson's collected works fill twelve volumes. His Theological Institutes did much to mold the ministry of a race of strong preachers like Dixon, Hannah, Treffry, Jobson, Farrar, Thornton, Osborn, Gregory, and Perks. Watson effectively vindicated Methodism and its founder in his Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley. He was president at Liverpool in 1826. He died only a year before the first theological institution was opened.

The first theological tutor, John Hannah, D.D. (1792–1867), lectured for thirty-three years. He was twice president of Conference, and for nine years secretary. He accompanied Richard Reece in 1824, and Dr. Jobson in 1856, as representative to America. The bust by Adams well represents him in later life, when his dark eyes were deeply sunk under

thick, shaggy brows, and his earlier rugged, ungainly mass of manhood was softened into peaceful and reverential repose. The published outlines of his Theological Lectures are of permanent value for their lucid definitions and careful scriptural proofs; typical of the old tutoral style at its best. His successor at Didsbury College, Dr. W. Birt Pope,



FROM THE ENGRAVING BY BAKER.

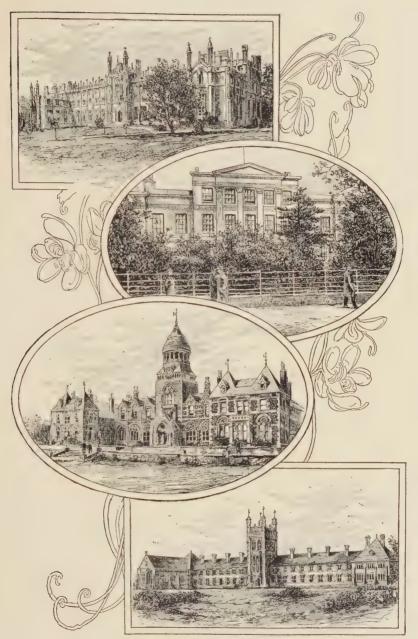
REV. JOHN HANNAH.

After the bust taken in 1867 by John Adams.

says that in Dr. Hannah's later years "the foundations of systematic theology were shifting; Christian evidences were undergoing what amounted to a revolution; biblical criticism was beginning afresh; and the Introduction to the Bible was almost rewritten." Hannah did not live to complete his intended revision of his lectures. He was the embodiment of integrity and charity. Dr. Jobson expressed a common

sentiment when he preached his funeral sermon from the text, "The disciple whom Jesus loved;" and in a beautiful memoir Dr. Pope tells how his old tutor had caught the spirit of St. John's doctrine and devotion. He "blended masculine energy with feminine intensity and childlike simplicity."

Thomas Jackson (1783–1873) was theological tutor at Richmond College for nineteen years after its opening, in 1842. Like Dr. Hannah, he lacked creative genius, but his Lives of John Goodwin, Charles Wesley, The Early Methodist Preachers, Watson, Newton, and his editorship of the Standard Edition of John Wesley's Works witness to his untiring industry. For nineteen years he was connectional editor, and ably defended Methodism against the attacks of Dr. Pusey



DRAWN BY J. P. DAVIS.

AFTER WOODCUTS.

WESLEYAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS.

Richmond. Headingley. Didsbury. Handsworth.



and others. He was twice president of Conference. When he was eighty-nine he attended the London Conference with William Tranter, who was ninety-four, and they were called the two "boys" of the Conference. His old students venerate his memory.

His successor was John Lomas, who was removed to Headingley College in 1868; a man of Watson's type, whose commanding intellect controlled a rich imagination. He gained the truth he taught through much inward conflict. He was president of Conference in 1853. In 1839 John Farrar was appointed classical tutor and governor at Abney House—the old mansion in which Dr. Watts had died ninety years before. Later, as governor of Woodhouse Grove School and then of Headingley College, as secretary of Conference and twice president, John Farrar was distinguished by a rare judiciousness and a fine old-time dignity of manner.

A theologian who wrote some standard treatises was Richard Treffry, who was president of Conference in 1833. Samuel Jackson, the brother of Thomas Jackson, was an early governor of Richmond College and Conference president in 1847. He was in advance of his brethren in advocating Wesleyan day schools, and was distinguished for his intense interest in the baptized children of the Church. As he was dying his daughter asked him what was the subject of his thoughts. "The children," was the veteran's reply.

An eminent educationalist who was twice Conference president was John Scott (1792–1868); the first principal of the Westminster Normal Training College, opened in 1852. Thomas Galland, M.A. (Cambridge), was from 1831 to 1842 a distinguished classical examiner of the connectional schools. He criticised the committees and Dr. Bunting when they op-

posed Lord Melbourne's scheme of national education on the ground of its latitudinarian look. An accomplished scholar,



ABNEY HOUSE, STOKE NEWINGTON.
This building, in which Dr. Isaac Watts died, was used as a Wesleyan college, 1839.

a wide reader, a faithful, fervid preacher, a warm philanthropist, he passed away in mid-life.

A group of "liberals" of the same school as Galland, who

never hesitated to cross swords with Bunting in debate, included Joseph Fowler, secretary of Conference in 1848, "one of the princes of the Wesleyan pastorate both in the pulpit and out." His son, the Right Honorable Sir Henry Fowler, has attained imperial reputation. Joseph Fowler's Notes on the Conference Debates from 1827 to 1852 form the basis of Dr. Gregory's Sidelights on the Conflicts of Methodism. The first of Mr. Fowler's principles was freedom of speech and discussion in Conference and connectional committee, and the absolute right to the use of this freedom. There was a secret feeling among some that Bunting must not always have his own way. The battle of free speech was fought by J. Fowler, W. Arthur, S. R. Hall, T. Vasey, J. H. Rigg, B. Gregory, and a few others.

Joseph Beaumont, M.D., was a fearless debater, often in combatant opposition to Dr. Bunting, with whom he was unequally matched, but by whom he was never silenced. He was one of the most popular pulpit orators of his day, sometimes florid, but often electrifying his congregations by marvelous outbursts of eloquence. He died suddenly, in the pulpit of Waltham Street Chapel, Hull, in 1855, as he was giving out the lines, with deep pathos and quivering lips:

Thee while the first archangel sings He hides his face behind his wings.

A Conference president who was preeminently, and in the noblest sense, one of the grandest men and preachers of his time was James Dixon, D.D. (1788–1871). His eloquence was rich in close, deep thought no less than in burning declamation. He was famous as a speaker against slavery, a lecturer against popery, an advocate of foreign missions. "In person he was singularly noble. A finer, more luminous

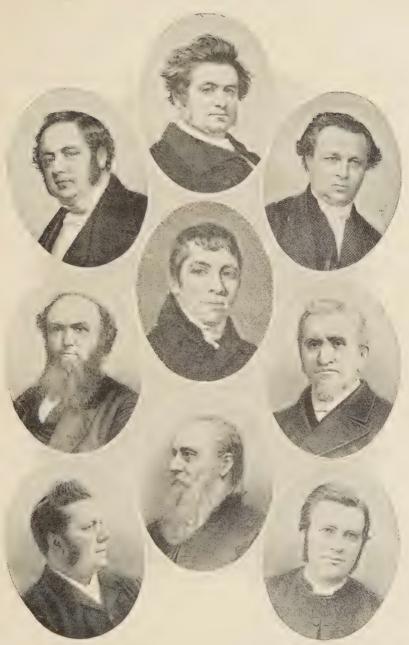
face was never seen than his. His head was altogether Jovelike, and the pure white flowing and curling locks which festooned his noble head were an unrivaled feature in his appearance."

There are other notable faces among the portraits of the presidents. George Morley was a chief founder of the Mis-



JAMES DIXON, D.D.

sionary Society, the venerated governor of Woodhouse Grove School, and the president of the Conference of 1830. Jonathan Crowther, who preceded Bunting in his first presidency, was considered one of the most advanced men among the early preachers, yet the march of ideas is indicated by the fact that, when Bunting was advocating the cause of the laymen in



LEADING WELSH PREACHERS.

Rev. Isaac Jenkins. Rev. Robert Jones. Rev. John Evans. REV. THOMAS AUBREY. REV. EDWARD JONES. REV. RICHARD ROBERTS, REV. SAMUEL DAVIES, REV. HUGH JONES, REV. DAVID YOUNG,



Conference, it was Crowther who rose and said, "I always suspected Mr. Bunting of being secretly inclined to Kilhamitism, but now I am confirmed; he is a Kilhamite!" Dr. Townley as a scholar, E. Grindrod as administrator, were men of mark. Theophilus Lessey was almost equal*to Newton as an orator. Robert Young and John Rattenbury were noble revivalists. William Atherton was an original, pungent, forceful preacher who lived to see his son become solicitorgeneral for England. Isaac Keeling was another man of sharply defined individuality, a keen critic, a unique preacher to the conscience. Dr. Stamp and Charles Prest rendered invaluable service in connectional affairs; the latter, as the organizer of home missions, ought to be honored as one of the pioneers of the modern forward movement. Prest was followed in his presidency of 1862 by the fearless, conservative, venerable George Osborn, who lived to preside at the first Ecumenical Conference (1881).



CHAPTER CXL

The First Centenary Celebration

SOCIAL STORM-CLOUDS.—FELLOWSHIP AND FINANCE.—HILARIOUS GIV-ING.—PLATFORM ECHOES.—TALES OF THE GRANDFATHERS.—THE OFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE.

N an encyclical of 1839 the pope called the attention of all Roman Catholics to Methodism by declaring that the "heretics" were putting to shame the offerings of the "faithful." A hundred years had passed since Wesley founded his societies for Primitive Church fellowship, and the Methodists were commemorating the event by thank offerings amounting to nearly a quarter of a million pounds.

The preparations for the centenary commenced at a period in national affairs which seemed most unpropitious to any such outburst of spiritual enthusiasm and jubilant giving. England was carrying on the disgraceful opium war with China and a disastrous campaign in Afghanistan. Canada was in revolt. Bread riots had again broken out in the large towns. John Bright and Richard Cobden were heading the Anti-Corn-Law League. Ebenezer Elliot's corn-law rhymes were being sung by excited crowds of half-famished laborers. The Chartists were beginning to agitate for the "political rights of the people." The Anglican Church was rent by

Tractarianism. The Free Church movement was stirring Scotland. Many Methodists were awaking to a new conception of the responsibilities of citizenship. When the preparations for the centenary celebration commenced, in 1837, the Methodist Church itself was under a cloud: the evolution of its polity had been too slow for some ardent reformers, changes had been made too late to avert discord and secession, and there was a decrease of members.

But a day was set apart for fasting, humiliation, and prayer. Deep seriousness pervaded the gatherings. Fervent supplications for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit were answered. The clouds broke, showers descended, and chapels were so thronged that many new buildings had to be erected all over the land. A revival of spiritual fervor was the open secret of the success of the celebration.

This fervor was intensified by the central idea of the movement. It had been suggested in 1824 that Wesley's ordination should be commemorated, but this had not met with general acceptance. Now it was decided that the founding of the United Societies in 1739, after Wesley's heart had been "strangely warmed" and his experience transformed by "the witness of the Spirit," should be the inspiring event. This appealed with electric force to the Methodist heart. It was the celebration of the hundredth birthday of a Church founded on a divine life, doctrine, and fellowship.

A committee meeting of ministers and laymen at Manchester in 1838 was remarkable for the flame of holy feeling which it kindled. The offering of £1,000 by a widow whom God had prospered in business was followed by many more in thanksgiving. The students in the Hoxton Institution caught the flame and "it went," said one of them, William Arthur, "like fire from study to study." The London meeting lasted

from morning until evening and took the form of a love feast. The sainted dead were honored by gifts connected with their names, and Joseph Butterworth, M.P., who had suggested the movement in 1824, but had since passed to his rest, was not forgotten.

At Redruth, Cornwall, Thomas Jackson, president of Conference in 1838, saw "a solid sea of human faces" in the



OLDHAM STREET CHAPEL, MANCHESTER.

great chapel. While he was referring to the agency of the Holy Spirit in the rise of Methodism a supernatural influence fell upon the assembly and many were in tears. Similar scenes were witnessed all over the land. Notes sent to

the platform aroused deep interest. At Dublin Jackson read from one, "A convert from popery sends two and sixpence, and wishes to return thanks to God that her friends are not paying it for the pretended redemption of her soul out of purgatory." In the same meeting a good man who had mentioned the amount of his intended gift caught his wife's eye and at once increased the amount, saying, "I perceive from my wife's countenance that the sum is not sufficient;" and Jackson turned to Lessey with a quotation from Prior:

That eye dropped sense distinct and clear As any muse's tongue could speak.

The play of sanctified wit often relieved the strain of prolonged meetings. At City Road Dr. Beaumont, speaking



SPEAKERS AT THE FIRST MISSIONARY MEETING.

Rev. George Morley. Rev. John Braithwaite.

REV. JAMES WOOD.

REV. WILLIAM WARRENER. REV. CHARLES ATMORE.

Rev. JABEZ BUNTING, aged 25.



of Wesley's mind, said, "If Mr. Wesley was deficient in any mental quality, it was in imagination; he lacked the play and fire of fancy." An aged supernumerary who had known Wesley rose to say that Dr. Beaumont was mistaken in saying that Mr. Wesley had no fire. The doctor replied: "The only mistake which has been made to-night has been made by my venerable friend Mr. Jenkins. I did not say that Mr. Wesley had no fire, but that he lacked the play and fire of the imagination. Mr. Wesley no fire! Why, his thoughts were fire; his words were truth; his heart was love; and his feet were like the feet of a roe on the mountains of Israel. His preaching in this country acted like a sevenfold peal of thunder; its tones, its vibrations, and its reverberations have not yet—no, nor ever will cease until wrapped up in the blast of the archangel's trumpet." Dr. Bunting then came forward and said, "I am happy in the belief that if Mr. Wesley were deficient in imagination, his sons in the Gospel will make up for him."

Dr. Gregory relates that at a later meeting Dr. Bunting—alluding to Mr. Jackson's centenary text, "Not many wise men after the flesh . . . not many noble," etc.—had touched upon his own humble parentage and earliest prospects as the son of a working tailor, and himself at first looking forward to the same vocation. This led him into meandering memories of his young religious life till, finding that his time was gone, he suddenly broke off, saying: "Well, I've lost the thread of my discourse, so I had better make way for the next speaker." Mr. Thomas Percival Bunting was then called for. He began, "The man who so soon let slip the needle may well be apt to lose the thread."

President Jackson's speeches were replete with anecdotes of old Methodism. At Leeds he told how Samuel, the son

of Charles Wesley, came to open the organ in Brunswick Chapel, and when he played the Hundredth Psalm tune the congregation sang with such power that they took the tune completely out of his hands, and the organ could not be heard. To a musical friend he remarked, "I have come all the way



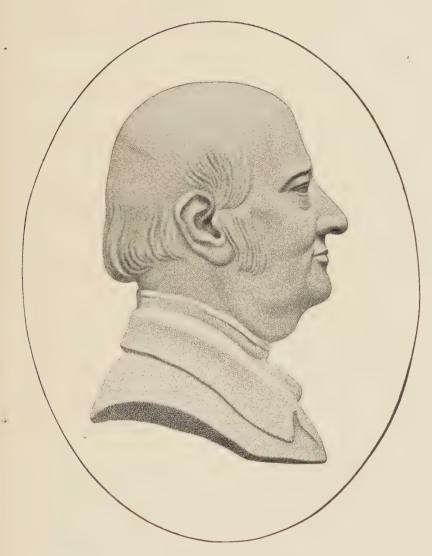
REV. THEOPHILUS LESSEY.

President of the Conference in 1839.

from London to open this organ, and here I am playing second fiddle." Jackson hoped the Leeds people would serve the committee as they served the nephew of John Wesley, and take the joyful celebration out of their hands. This they soon did with immense enthusiasm as the offerings poured in, with love-feast testimonies, amid tears and shouts and songs. Jackson rendered splendid service by his

centenary volume and sermon. "The Laureate of the Commemoration was James Montgomery, of Sheffield, whose centenary ode, 'A Hundred Years Ago,' was scarcely equal to the occasion or to his own genius."

Theophilus Lessey presided at the Centenary Conference at Liverpool. The secretary, Dr. Newton, writing to his daughters, said: "This has been a glorious year: seventeen thousand members have been added to our societies. To



REV. JABEZ BUNTING.
Four times president of the Conference.



God's name be all the praise. We have also one hundred and eighteen candidates for our ministry. We have glorious news from the mission stations, especially New Zealand and Africa." The holy feeling was overwhelming.

Thirty-two survivors from the days of Wesley were on the Minutes of Conference. Richard Reece, president in 1816 and 1835, was one of these. He holds a place in Sir J. E. Burke's Royal Descents of England as the descendant of a line of kings. "Alike in physique, in countenance and character, he would have added dignity to any line of monarchs, yet he was far more like some handsome, majestic commoner of the type of Pitt and Peel. He would have made a noble figure standing on the floor of the House addressing the Imperial Parliament with his commanding voice and his strong, apt, manly English. He had a richly florid English complexion, and an imposing stateliness of figure and demeanor which arrested attention and commanded admiration as he strode along the streets." He was the last Methodist preacher to keep up the private bands and the five o'clock morning service, though he could not always persuade his colleagues to sustain them. When he was S. D. Waddy's superintendent in Sheffield he said to him: "O Mr. Waddy, if you would attend the five o'clock preaching every morning it would lengthen your days." "Of course it would, sir," he replied; "but then it would proportionately shorten my nights." Reece was the first representative of the British Conference to the American General Conference (1823), and Dr. Stevens testifies that his visit did much to enkindle missionary enthusiasm in America. The veteran startled the first centenary meeting by his audacious proposal to aim at £200,000, but the result proved his sagacity.

Joseph Entwisle, president in 1812 and 1825, and governor

of the theological institution for four years, was another venerable figure. It is he and Joseph Sutcliffe whom Dr. Gregory describes as "the two saintliest looking men my eyes have ever rested on. Yet there was naught about them



TWO DISTINGUISHED CONFERENCE PRESIDENTS.

REV. JOSEPH ENTWISLE. "REV. RICHARD REBGE.

of the ascetic or the mystic; they were the very symbols of a comely, comfortable, social, serviceable sainthood." And that Entwisle was as saintly as he looked, his Life, by his son, beautifully witnesses. His face and his letters testify that "to be spiritually minded is life and peace." One neighbor, whose house he passed almost every day, attributed her conversion to the deep impression as to the joy of religion made upon her mind by the uniformly happy expression of his countenance. The Methodist people revered the hoary saint and listened spellbound as he told them how he heard Wesley prophesy: "Some people say, when my head

is laid all this work will come to nothing. But it is not the work of man; it is the work of God; and it will spread more and more till the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea."

The offerings of British Methodists amounted to £208,089; and Ireland, though oppressed with poverty, contributed



WESLEYAN CENTENARY HALL, LONDON, 1839.

£14,500. In America £120,000 (\$600,000) was raised; its own special centenary being celebrated in 1866, twenty-seven years later. This made a grand total of £342,589. About a tenth of the whole amount came from the ministers. As a result of this thanksgiving two theological colleges were built. The London Tavern was bought and transformed into a Centenary Hall, which became the Foreign Mission House.

A missionary ship was purchased; mission schools and chapels were built in Ireland; debts were cleared off; the pinching allowances of worn-out ministers and ministers' widows were increased; other funds were aided, and £1,000

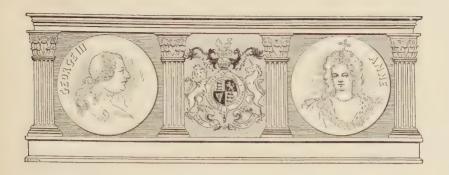


DRAWN AND ENGRAVED BY J. BRAIN

THE OLD WESLEYAN BOOK ROOM, LONDON, 1842.

was given to the British and Foreign Bible Society. Sister Churches were stimulated, and a new era in the annals of Christian liberality was inaugurated.

The membership of Wesleyan Methodism in 1839 throughout the world was 1,112,519, with 4,957 ministers. Methodism in all its branches reckoned more than 1,400,000 members.



CHAPTER CXLI

The Queen and the People

Addresses to Queen Victoria.—"Educating the People."—Albert the Good.—A Great Antislavery Meeting.—The Queen and the Methodists.—The White Slaves of England.—Richard Oastler and Thomas Sadler, Methodist Politicians.

HE first Conference held after the accession of Queen Victoria had presented a congratulatory address to her majesty which Lord John Russell assured the president was very graciously received. The Coronation ceremony followed, in 1838, and the Methodist Conference address contained the following reference to the young queen: "We wish to commend to your very earnest prayers the sovereign of this realm. Called in such early life to sustain so weighty a charge, she needs in no ordinary degree the wisdom that is from above. . . We beseech you to pray earnestly and constantly for the queen and all that are in authority; and to fulfill all our various duties as members of civil society in habitual reference to the will of God." These were the first of many similar patriotic addresses presented—on the queen's marriage; on her escape from assassination, in 1843; on the death of the Duchess of Kent; on the births of her children and grandchildren; on the deaths of the Prince Consort, the Emperor Frederick, the Princess Alice, and Prince Leopold; on the close of the Crimean War; on the Diamond Jubilee, and on other occasions.

In a Coronation sermon at St. Paul's Sydney Smith gave utterance to what appears now to be almost a "prophetic aspiration:" "What limits to the glory and happiness of our native land if the Creator should in his mercy have placed in the heart of this royal woman the rudiments of wisdom and mercy; and if, giving them time to expand and to bless our children's children with her goodness, he should grant to her a long sojourning upon earth and leave her to reign over us till she is well stricken in years?" The practical appeal which followed apparently reached the royal ear: "First and foremost I think the new queen should bend her mind to the very serious consideration of educating the people. . . . It presents the best chance of national improvement."

To this work of "educating the people" Methodism had already given an impulse. The first building which John Wesley erected in England after his return from Georgia was a day school which he began to build in 1739, "in the middle of Kingswood," for the children of the colliers. His followers commenced Sunday schools before Robert Raikes organized the noble work with which Wesley was in such intense sympathy. The promoters of the early Sunday schools found it necessary to teach reading, spelling, and writing in almost every school. Methodists contributed to many of the thirteen thousand day schools opened by the British and National School Societies between 1811 and 1841. The Wesleyan Education Committee appointed in 1836 had ascertained the existence of Wesleyan day schools with an attendance of eight thousand two hundred scholars. The opening of the Wesleyan Proprietary School at Sheffield (afterward Wesley College) in 1836 manifested a new sense of the importance of secondary education.

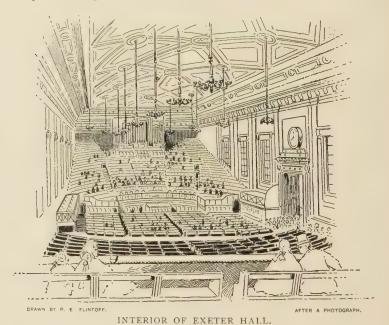
In 1839 the government constituted a Board of Education for the first time. The board was especially charged with the formation of normal schools, and £30,000 was voted. The lords hastened to condemn the new scheme in an address to the crown. Their lordships, however, received a courteous rebuke from the throne and the scheme was vigorously carried out. The existence of the new Wesleyan Education Committee and a grant from the Centenary Fund prepared the Methodist Church to avail itself of government aid and to take its part in the educational movement. The Wesleyan normal institutions and schools have won the highest commendation of government inspectors, and the Rev. Dr. Rigg, who was elected a member of the first London School Board, is regarded by all parties as one of the leading British educationists of his century.

During the Methodist centenary year the queen was betrothed to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The royal marriage took place in 1840, and Sir Robert Peel "spoke the simple truth" when he stated in the House of Commons that it was a "marriage founded on affection."

Prince Albert slowly won the hearts of the English people. He presented an example of that deepening, softening, and strengthening of character which has been described as the special fruit of the Protestant Reformation among those peoples which have really assimilated its principles. Methodists could well appreciate his deeply religious character revealed in his letter to the queen in 1839, when he was about to take the sacrament at Coburg: "God will not take it amiss if in that serious act, even at the altar, I think of you; for I will pray to him for you and for your soul's health, and he will

not refuse his blessing." He was wholly free from narrowness and bigotry, and always in favor of religious toleration. He took an interest in all movements for the spread of education, the encouragement of art, and the promotion of industrial science.

Prince Albert's first public appearance was at a great antislavery meeting in Exeter Hall on June 1, 1840, when he



Where the anniversaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society are held.

took the chair. Mr. T. F. Buxton, Archdeacon Wilberforce, Sir Robert Peel, the Bishops of Winchester and Chichester, and Dr. Jabez Bunting were among the speakers. Dr. Dixon (president of Conference in 1841) was also present, as one of the representatives of Methodism, and in a letter home the next day he says: "We had a grand meeting, unexampled in the history of such assemblies as to rank and

numbers. There was the presence of the prince—he is a fine man, and was deeply interested in the best parts of the meeting; the appearance and speech of Sir Robert Peel, who was received with more enthusiasm than I ever witnessed. The shouting and waving of hats were tremendous. His speech gave me such an idea of the perfection of oratory as I never possessed before." Dr. Bunting, speaking as a Methodist, said: "It would be strange indeed if a religious body which was among the first to think of the negro, and which during the last fifty years has made a larger expenditure both of money and valuable missionary life for Africa and her injured race than many others have had the opportunity of doing—it would be strange indeed should they prove indifferent to a plan which promises not only to deliver Africa from the worst of human evils, but also to confer upon her the greatest amount of positive good."

In all antislavery movements the Methodists continued to take an active part, and the difficulties of the American Church arising out of the slave question called forth much sympathy from the successive representatives of the English Conference, who were all strong Abolitionists.

An incident revealing the queen's freedom from bigotry was reported in the newspapers of 1842, and greatly interested the Methodists. A lady of the queen's household dismissed a young woman from her majesty's service on account of her religion. She had ventured to unite herself with the Methodists. The circumstance came to the knowledge of the queen, who sent for the lady and found it was true that the young servant had been dismissed "because she was a Methodist." The queen expressed her displeasure and sorrow, and said that it would "pain her exceedingly were any class of her subjects to suffer on account of religion, more

particularly if such should be the case in her own household." The lady was told that her own services would no longer be required, and the Methodist was restored to the royal household. The mental distress consequent upon her dismissal had affected the young woman's health, and the report of her case appears to have reached the queen through a kindhearted physician.

Two German musicians, who were regular attendants at the Windsor Weslevan Chapel and earnest tract distributors, were members of the queen's private band. One of them, Mr. Schrader, the finest trombone player in the kingdom, had been brought to England by George IV, who summoned the band of the Life Guards to hear him. He was accustomed to sing in the choir of the old Wesleyan Chapel, and there are those who still remember his deep bass voice. When, in the early days of Victoria, he and his comrade were ordered by the bandmaster to attend a Sunday practice of secular music they refused, and were promptly dismissed. queen missed them, and learning the reason of their dismissal, at once ordered them to be reinstated, directing that no dismissal on such grounds should ever occur again. No man or woman was ever refused a situation in the royal household on the ground of Nonconformity. Many of the queen's most faithful servants have been loyal Weslevans. Her majesty has always caused it to be understood that reasonable facilities for worship and perfect religious liberty must prevail in her household. The recent Wesleyan presidents have been presented at court, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church has been officially represented at the Queen's Jubilee celebrations.

Turning from the palace and Parliament to the people, we find that, early in the century, the condition of multitudes of English workers in mines and factories had become in some re-

spects far worse than that of the majority of the negro slaves of America. The early results of the factory system were deplorable. Persons of all ages and both sexes were collected together in huge buildings, under no moral control, and with no provision for health, comfort, or decency. There was a sudden growth of wealth and industry accompanied by selfish capitalism and underpaid and excessive labor.

The apprentice system, by which overseers of the poor were enabled to supply pauper children to factories, led to fearful cruelties. Mill owners in search of "hands" came on appointed days to examine the strength and height of the children exactly as slave dealers did in the American market. Agents who provided child workers for factory districts kept them in dark cellars and back yards until they could obtain their price for them. In order to get rid of idiots parish authorities arranged that one imbecile should be taken with every twenty sane children. They were often worked sixteen hours a day, by day and by night, in stifling rooms, where labor was enforced by the blows of merciless overlookers. They were fed upon the coarsest food, slept in filthy beds that were never cool, and were chained if they attempted to run away. "One does not trust oneself," says Gibbins in his Industrial History, "to set down calmly all that might be told of this awful page in the history of industrial England." Southey writes to Mr. May, in 1833, "The slave trade is mercy compared to it."

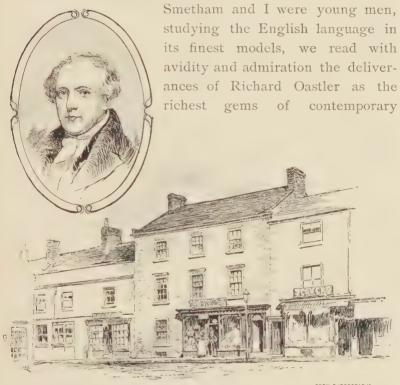
The earliest champion of the mill hands was the first Sir Robert Peel, the father of the statesman whose eloquence so delighted Dr. Dixon. The elder Sir Robert Peel is mentioned by John Wesley in his Journal, July 27, 1787: "I was invited to breakfast at Bury by Mr. Peel, a calico printer, who a few years ago began with £500 and is now supposed

to have gained £50,000. O what a miracle if he lose not his soul!" Probably Wesley would have rejoiced to believe that the miracle did occur, for the earliest relief for the factory sufferers came through his host—one of the very class by whom they were so grievously oppressed. But the early acts secured by Sir Robert Peel and Sir John Hobhouse were scandalously evaded, chiefly through the lack of a system of inspection, and it was not until two Methodist local preachers took up their cause that the factory hands obtained effective relief. Lord Shaftesbury, reviewing the history of the movement in 1874, said, "The question was taken up by Mr. Oastler and Mr. Sadler—marvelous men in their generation—and without whose preceding labors nothing could have been effected, at least by myself."

Richard Oastler's father was disinherited for his Methodism, and it was in his house that Wesley stayed at Thirsk. He is supposed to have induced Wesley to write the famous letter intrusted to John Bradford to be read at the first Conference after Wesley's death. On Wesley's last visit he took Richard, then a child, in his arms and blessed him. The boy was educated at the Moravian school at Fulnek. He became a local preacher, and "his style was characterized by exquisitely simple and faithful sketches of the lights and shadows of humble life and labor; realistic touches of the spiritual and ethical picturesque, and of healthy human feeling." He became a popular politician of great power and influence.

Dr. Gregory writes: "Though Oastler's powerful personality added greatly to his effectiveness as a speaker, yet his speeches always read well; insomuch that the Duke of Wellington cultivated a personal intimacy with him, and was his constant correspondent. In 1833 his royal highness the

Duke of Sussex, moved by the speeches of the two West Riding Methodists, Sadler and Oastler, called a meeting at the London Tavern (soon afterward the Wesleyan Mission House) and sent for Oastler to tell his tale in person. And a piteous tale it was, and powerfully told. When John



RICHARD OASTLER AND HIS HOUSE AT THIRSK.

In this house Wesley was often a guest.

speech reported in the Leeds Mercury. And if anyone compares the extant speeches of Oastler with those of Stephens and O'Connor, and even Thomas Cooper, he must, I think, give Oastler the gold medal for manly, heart-affecting eloquence."

He was powerfully built and had a commanding presence. His voice was stentorian in its power, and yet flexible. His enemies nicknamed him "the factory king;" he accepted the name and became known by it throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire. "From 1830 to 1847 he devoted himself especially to stopping the oppression of children in factories, till he caused the Factories Regulation Acts to be passed."

Michael Thomas Sadler, M.P. for Newark, was the leader of the movement in the House of Commons. "He who truly earned," says Fraser, "and without the least descent into cant or affectation, the title of the poor man's friend." Instead of coming to Parliament, like many others, with an empty head, a voluble tongue, and party audacity, Sadler came there with his heart overcharged with schemes for the good of the working classes. Politics, properly so called, did not occupy a tithe of his time or his thoughts. He was ever brooding over some scheme for the relief of the Irish poor, or the bettering the state of our agriculturists, or the emancipation of the infant slaves of our factories. His range of topics was entirely his own; and as they were ever crossing and thwarting the common current of daily politics, it was no wonder that he became reckoned by the dandies of the House as an odd and impracticable sort of fellow.

"His manner, too, of dealing with these topics had the fault of Burke and of Mackintosh—it was the style and manner of a student; of one who had gone to the bottom of his subject and who insisted on taking with him even those careless or reluctant hearers who had hardly patience to skim the surface for a few moments." He succeeded in getting a Parliamentary committee appointed. The question of Parliamentary reform, however, threw everything else into the background. The first Reform Bill was passed, Newark was

disfranchised, and the band of children's friends was deprived of its leader.

Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, was appealed to to



"THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND," M. T. SADLER, M.P.

take up the cause. "I can perfectly recollect," he said in later years, "my astonishment and doubt and terror at the proposition." He laid the matter before his wife. "It is your duty," she said, "and the consequences we must leave

to God. Forward! and to victory!" The meeting at the London Tavern, already referred to, was the first at which Lord Ashley presided.

The great antislavery meeting of 1840 was held in a building which has become known to world-wide Methodism. Built in 1831 on the sites of the famous Burleigh House and Exeter 'Change, Exeter Hall was becoming a national institution, "a type of energetic activity on the part of evangelical religion." Thousands returned to tell their friends of the vast sea of heads before the speakers. Some, who might have known better, indulged in ridicule. "O antislavery convention, loud-sounding, long-eared Exeter Hall!" exclaimed Thomas Carlyle; who had, however, the grace to add, "but in thee too is a kind of instinct toward justice." This characteristic apostrophe did not rouse so much indignation as did the allusion of Macaulay to "the bray of Exeter Hall;" the indecorousness of his language being aggravated by a known association, through his father and others, with the so-called Clapham Sect.

In 1880 the committee of the Young Men's Christian Association acquired Exeter Hall at a cost, including alterations, of £46,000. Toward this Mr. George Williams and three others gave £5,000 each. Mr. Williams was the draper's assistant in whose sleeping apartment, in 1844, was born the infant association which has now attained such magnificent proportions. The venerable Earl of Shaftesbury presided at the reopening in 1881. The annual meetings of the Wesleyan Missionary Society have been held here since 1832.



CHAPTER CXLII

In the Turbulent Times of the Chartists

SOCIAL EARTHQUAKES.—COOPER, THE CHARTIST POET.—THE HORNCASTLE GLORY.—THE PRISON CELL.—JOSEPH RAYNER STEPHENS.—A DEBATE ON THE STATE CHURCH.—CHARLES KINGSLEY.

HE ten years that followed the Methodist centenary celebration was a period of intense national excitement. Revolutionary upheavals on the European continent, famine and insurrection in Ireland and riots in the large English towns charged the air with thunder. Louis Philippe escaped from Paris and landed in England under the name of "Mr. Smith;" the pope fled from Rome in the disguise of a footman; the Emperor of Austria and the King of Naples became refugees from the fury of their subjects. In England the Anti-Corn-Law League agitated for cheap bread and the Chartists for political power; for the Reform Bill of 1832 had not gone far enough for them. In 1848 the Chartists designed to march through London with their great petition and compel Parliament to hear their cry. The government enrolled a quarter of a million special constables, the Duke of Wellington posted soldiers and guns; but there was division in the Chartist councils, and they ended with a harmless demonstration on Kennington Common.

Among the few Methodist local preachers who joined the Chartists Thomas Cooper is best known, through his fascinating biography, his friendship with Charles Kingsley and Dr. F. J. Jobson, and his prison rhyme, "The Purgatory of Sui-



THOMAS COOPER.

The Chartist poet and agitator.

cides." Carlyle saw
"the energy of a Titan working through
the weird phantasies"
of Cooper's poem. It
was Cooper and his
fellow-Chartists who
were addressed by
Kingsley under the
pen-name of "Parson
Lot."

Cooper's autobiography enables us to follow the boy scholar from the shoemaker's bench to the schoolmaster's chair; thence to the newspaper office, and on to the

march in chains through the dreary streets to the cold prison cell. A portrait of him appeared in Howitt's Journal, with "eyes deep set and questioning, glowing with a fierce fire; large, heavy forehead that seemed to force the chin into the breast by its overtoppling majesty; long black hair that fell like a woman's about the shoulders." His friend F. J. Jobson was Wesleyan book steward for fifteen years, representative to America in 1855, and later president of the Conference. Cooper writes of

him: "Those who know how changeful my life has been will be sure that we did not always agree in sentiment and opinion; and that my friend did not fail to tell me when I was wrong—grievously wrong. But he told me always in sorrow, never in anger. One occasion of our meeting is often spoken of in Lincolnshire to the present time. We always called it 'the Horncastle glory.' It had been a custom for some years to hold a love feast on New Year's Day. People came from distant villages, the chapel was crowded, and spiritual good was ever the result. In 1833 my friend and myself were among the local preachers, and three of us were requested to preach in succession. I led the way with the grand text, 'All things are possible to him that believeth.' Jobson followed with the grandest of all texts, 'God so loved the world,' etc. The excitement reached spiritual white heat under Jobson's sermon. Then followed the prayer meeting. The Rev. D. Cornforth, a hearty Cornishman, said: 'The Lord is here! Lads, conduct the meeting your own -way.' So we conducted it in what we knew would have been John Smith's way: stepping from pew to pew talking to sinners and getting them to seek for pardon, and singing a verse of praise when they had found it. Four-and-twenty times we had to sing such praise; for so many souls professed to find peace before two o'clock in the morning, when the meeting broke up. We had often a like experience in those days. Jobson's prospects were bright for success as an artist, but he resolved to sacrifice them all for Christ.

"I must not enter on the causes of my leaving Methodism. It was an evil day for me. My dear friend came over to Lincoln and found me and my distressed wife in the midst of our trouble. His heart was wrung with anguish, and he burst into an agony of tears. However, I could not be per-

suaded to go back, although I loved Methodism with an unspeakable love. I paid dearly for forsaking it—losing the best years of my life, partly in backsliding and partly in skeptical error. My friend protested against my Chartism. When I fell into the errors of Strauss, and gave up belief in the divinity, miracles, and resurrection of Christ, remaining simply a worshiper of his moral beauty, my friend had great sorrow of heart, and often solemnly charged me to consider the peril I was running, not only for myself, but in misteaching others; yet he always believed I should get right.

"At length came the blessed time of my restoration to Christian belief. It was God's work only. I had the help of my dear friend and of noble Charles Kingsley when the work had begun. When, after the lapse of twenty-four years, I stood once more in a pulpit beside my friend he spoke of it with tears of joy. During the twenty-two years which have followed, whenever we met, he and I and his pious wife were seldom many moments before we were on our knees supplicating the divine blessing, as in the days of our early friendship."

In 1888 Mrs. Jobson visited Cooper and found him engaged in the recital of chapters of the Greek Testament. In 1892 he "breathed his life away quietly as a child." Representatives of all Churches and men of every shade of politics gathered round his grave and heard the Rev. A. O'Neill tell how, on that day fifty years ago, he and Thomas Cooper stood together on the platform before twenty thousand people in Wednesbury. Their next meeting was in Stafford jail. There they were chained together—Cooper ill, and shrinking at the touch of his cold bracelet. Mr. O'Neill told how he and his fellow-prisoners listened to "The Messiah" in the night as Cooper's grand voice rehearsed it in his gloomy cell. It was

O'Neill who suggested that he should sing the "Paradise of Martyrs" as a relief to his Dantesque "Purgatory of Suicides."

Another Chartist of note was Joseph Rayner Stephens, an ex-Wesleyan minister. He was second son of an ex-president of the Conference, John Stephens, who is said to have been, next to Dr. Bunting, the most unbending champion of authority that the Methodist Church could produce. J. R. Stephens's elder brother was the editor of the Christian Advocate (London), the first political Methodist newspaper, and of a-very pugnacious type. Claiming to be the organ of Methodism, this paper assumed a general censorship of the churches, and bitterly attacked the London Missionary Society. The Conference passed two resolutions disclaiming any connection with it. The paper was denounced by the leading liberals of Methodism. It then became an instrument of connectional agitation, and was afterward merged in the Patriot, an organ of political Dissent.

J. R. Stephens was "a well-endowed and fascinating personality, but, like his journalizing brother, he was, by temperament and habit, hot, heady, hazardous, restless, and intractable. These qualities had been nurtured into revolutionary passion by four years' residence at Stockholm as the solitary Methodist missionary in Sweden, where he had formed very heterogeneous friendships with adventurous men of genius. This circle was enlarged on his return by several romantic natures, such as Harrison Ainsworth, the novelist." He became the secretary of a society for the separation of the Church from the State. He was then minister at Ashtonunder-Lyne, and caused a great stir and division among the societies by announcing the public meetings from the pulpit, in spite of the protest of his superintendent.

The Conference of 1834 discussed the matter for two full

days. The whole question of the relation of Methodism to the Establishment came under debate. Dr. Bunting asked: "Must Wesleyan ministers arm themselves with pickaxes and pull down the house in which our father was born?" William Atherton (president in 1846) contended for strict neutrality, but demurred "to the statements of the obligations we owe to the Church." "What has it done for Methodism?" he asked. "It gave us Wesley, but not as a boon. It cast him out as a pestilent fellow. We might as well say that we are indebted to the Church of Rome for Luther." He requested neutrality on both sides. Dr. Dixon protested against political Dissent. "Mr. Wesley," said he; "did not propel his boat from the Church, but abreast of her. Not an inch nearer to the Church. We Methodists stand in the noblest position between the two."

Dr. Beaumont objected "to be tacked on to the Established Church," and thought that "Wesley, like a strong and skillful rower, looked one way while every stroke of his oar took him in an opposite direction." Nevertheless, Mr. Stephens ought "to give up his secretaryship." Thomas Galland bore high testimony to the character of J. R. Stephens, but agreed that he ought to give a pledge to devote himself wholly to his work as a Methodist preacher. Thomas Jackson, editor, spoke for an hour on the "advantages we derived from abstention from aggressive political Dissent, as a community," and urged the preservation of the "distinctively spiritual character of our work."

The Conference heard Mr. Stephens's eloquent and acute defense, and unanimously required from him a pledge "not in reference to any private opinion, but of his willingness to consult the peace of the connection by refraining from public work for the Anti-State-Church Society." He declined to do

this, and asked leave to resign his ministry. This was conceded, and he honorably withdrew. About seven hundred members of the society at Ashton seceded with him, and he became their pastor.

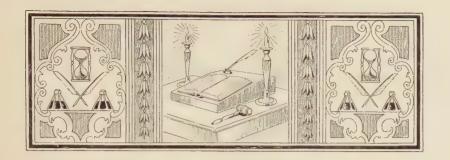
The position of the Conference was well expressed in a later Minute which "recognizes on the one hand the individual freedom of the ministers as Christian citizens, and on the other hand their responsibility to each other and the Conference as members of a nonpolitical body, and confides in their loyalty and honor so to regulate their public action as not to imperil the unity of the Methodist brotherhood or disturb the peace of the connection."

The subsequent action of J. R. Stephens finds a place in English history. "He gave the government more trouble than he ever gave the Conference." He became a leader of the physical force section of the Chartists, and was arraigned at the Chester Assizes in 1839 for using seditious language. He defended himself in a speech of five hours' duration, but was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. In his later years he greatly modified his views, and we find him kindly received at Woodhouse Grove School jubilee in 1862. He had great abilities as a speaker and writer, was a linguist of no mean order, and in Scandinavian literature was a specialist. He died in 1879. His whole career and the Conference debate on his action throw an important side light on the difficulties of steering Methodism through the turbulent times of the Reform Bill, Corn Law, and Chartist agitations.

In judging the Chartists of 1838–1848 it is necessary to remember the miserable condition of the laboring classes, the lack of sympathy on the part of many religious men with reforms which involved political movement, and the nervous

dread of any repetition of French revolutionary horrors. Much of Chartism is now embodied in English law, and all of it was worthy to form the theme of peaceful and temperate discussion. It was the threat of an appeal to physical force by oppressed and starving men that created the gravest difficulty. "Thank God," writes Dr. Stoughton, in recording his own memories of this period, "thank God that lawlessness and violence were kept in check at home by the direct and indirect influence of religion! For, while it wrought immediately on the minds of many, it touched the minds of more by early example and education. . . . Happily, while France and Germany were rocked from end to end by social earthquakes, and one throne after another and one constitution after another fell to the ground, England stood steady amid the commotion."

Dr. Rigg's sympathetic memoir of Charles Kingsley reveals the attitude of a modern Methodist leader of balanced judgment toward constitutional social reforms. "When the Chartist agony was over," he writes in 1877, "Kingsley did not cease his endeavors to mitigate the social evils he saw around him. . . . Since he took his part as a Christian Socialist the convictions of men and the course of legislation have justified the general attitude which he assumed in opposition to the callous school of economists. Morally and socially protective legislation has imposed many restraints on the operation of competition, especially in the labor market. At the present moment appeals are being made to the government against that 'sweating' system which in some of its earlier and worst forms was so searchingly exposed in Alton Locke."



CHAPTER CXLIII

Migrating Methodists

THE CHURCH METHODIST SECESSIONS AND THE IRISH REUNION.—A COSTLY ORGAN.—THE PROTESTANT METHODISTS OF 1827.—THE COLLEGE CONTROVERSY.—THE "GRAND CENTRAL ASSOCIATION."—IN THE COURT OF CHANCERY.—A PAPER WAR.—THE UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCHES OF 1857.

E have noticed the first Methodist secession and the two later "offshoots," forming the New Connection (1797), the Primitive Methodist Connection (1797), and the Bible Christians (1815).

We also observed a "Church Party" within Methodism at the death of Wesley, anxious to retain union with the Establishment and objecting to the administration of the sacraments by Methodist ministers. In Ireland the "Church Methodists" seceded (1816), and formed the Primitive Methodist Society—a very different body from the Primitive Methodist Connection in England. When the Anglo-Irish Church was disestablished, in 1870, this society found its basis dissolved, and in 1878 its sixty ministers and four thousand out of its seven thousand members reunited with the Wesleyan Methodists. "On that memorable occasion, when the stalwart form of the Rev. J. Kerr, president of the Primitive Conference, ascended the platform, and was warmly wel-

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comed by Dr. Pope, the cultured theologian representing the Wesleyans, might we not say that in the combination of bluff Evangelicalism and saintly learning embodied in the two presidents there was an indication of the dual forces that were henceforth to engage in winning this land for Christ?"

The Church Methodists in England seceded in 1825, but their society soon vanished. Their secession abolished the party within Methodism and led to an important manifesto by Richard Watson—who "in effect nailed the thesis to the door of every chapel"—"we are, in the proper sense, a Church of Christ, according to the scriptural model."

Two years later the Protestant Methodist secession occurred. A growing democratic party found its occasion in the granting by the Conference of the request of the trustees of Brunswick Chapel, Leeds, for permission to erect an organ. The leaders' meeting had objected to the instrument, the district meeting had decided that it was undesirable under the circumstances, but the Conference, asserting its supremacy, supported the trustees, and the organ was built. A strong body of local preachers, led by Mr. Sigston, the biographer of Bramwell, plunged into the anti-organ war, and held unconstitutional meetings. Some sincerely regarded the organ as perilous to the simplicity of worship, but questions of Church government complicated the dispute, which ended in the secession of one thousand members, who organized themselves into a body called "Protestant Methodists."

The Theological Institution Controversy, already referred to, led to the next secession. Many honest Methodists feared that collegiate training would produce a dull uniformity in the preachers, and create a race intellectual and literary rather than spiritual and evangelistic. Their dismal forebodings were expressed in a letter which the Rev. J. Everett wrote to

Dr. S. Warren in 1834: "All is dark. Methodism is ruined. I see in vision the fine natural orator lost, and instead of a bold, hale, original, and powerful ministry, there is the refined



FROM WOOLNOTH'S ENGRAVING OF THE PAINTING BY FREDERICK.

JAMES SIGSTON,

First president of the Wesleyan Protestant Methodists,

sentimentality of some other denominations—all form, all system; a shadow of the past; the ghost of a primitive Methodist preacher; the moon in her frosty brightness instead of the sun going forth in his might."

Dr. Warren, here addressed, was a prominent Wesleyan minister of thirty years' standing. He had at first approved

of the general plan for an institution, but later he objected to the designation of the officers. In a pamphlet he argued that the entire project was a scheme for investing Dr. Bunting and his adherents with the supreme power in Methodism. Then he organized an agitation which led to his suspension by a special district meeting.

A "Grand Central Association" was formed for opposing the institution and effecting changes in Methodist polity, and it was agreed that no contributions should be made to connectional funds until the concessions were granted. Dr. Warren appealed to the court of chancery against his suspension by the district meeting. Vice Chancellor Shadwell decided against him, and this decision was confirmed by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst. This involved a review of the whole legal constitution of Methodism by the most powerful judicial mind of the age. Lord Lyndhurst severely rebuked the intemperate language and personalities into which Dr. Warren had been betrayed. At the Conference Dr. Warren refused to express any regret, and the sentence of expulsion was carried unanimously. About a thousand members joined the "Grand Central" or "Wesleyan Methodist" Association. The "Protestant Methodists" and a small body of "Arminian Methodists" coalesced with them. Dr. Warren, their first president, soon left them, obtained episcopal ordination, and passed into obscurity as a clergyman of the State Church in Manchester. The historians of the "reformers" say that he was never at heart a true democrat. "He was the figurehead rather than the helm."

The Rev. James Everett was the most active literary opponent of the theological institution. His style was clever and caustic. About a year after the centenary celebration an anonymous volume appeared, entitled Wesleyan Takings, or



REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCHES.

Rev. Edward Boaden.
Rev. James Everett.

REV. THOMAS HACKING.
REV. JOSEPH KIR OP.
SAMUEL WARREN, LL, D.

Rev. Richard Chew.



Sketches of Ministerial Character. Some of the pen portraits were genial and kindly; others were bitter and offensive caricatures of personal defects and mannerisms. In later years Everett claimed the authorship. This volume was followed in 1846–1848 by a series of Fly Sheets, without author's or printer's name, in which the private character of leading ministers and the Missionary Committee and the "Conference Party" were assailed.

At the Conference of 1849 Messrs. Everett, S. Dunn, and W. Griffith were questioned respecting their complicity with the authorship of the Fly Sheets. They refused to answer the questions or to desist from attacking the Conference in newspapers. They were expelled, and found themselves at the head of a large number of sympathizers, who were, as Everett said, "borne away from the institution to the constitution." The association of 1835 joined them in 1857, and together they formed "The United Methodist Free Churches" with forty-one thousand members. In 1863 they numbered sixty-three thousand six hundred and seventy-four.

Mr. Kirsop, in his history of the Methodist Free Churches, says frankly: "I am not anxious to defend the Fly Sheets. I condemn anonymous attacks on character." As to the cry of "Stop the supplies," he confesses: "Certainly it is doubtful whether such a policy can be justified on the part of those who seek to continue in the Church." "It should be confessed," says the Wesleyan Dr. Gregory, "that on our side; in the mode in which the three ministers were expelled and in the way in which these expulsions were contrived and brought about, there was much that seemed questionable and exasperating in the eyes of simple-minded, honest-hearted Methodists, who loved the Methodist ministers without respect of parties."

In order to avoid what Mr. Kirsop calls "the baleful principle of pastoral supremacy," the Annual Assembly of the United Methodist Free Churches consists only of representatives, lay or clerical, elected by the circuits, with the exception of four connectional officers appointed by the preceding Assembly. Laymen may be elected presidents. The fact that only elected ministers can attend the Assembly or preside at circuit meetings has been one hindrance to union with the Methodist New Connection, the ministers of the latter body being unwilling to surrender their privileges. Although the ministry is itinerant, there is no fixed term of residence. The system aims at uniting connectionalism with congregationalism. The disciplinary power of each society over its members is "absolute and final." There is no right of appeal to a higher court. The Assembly deals with the ministers, but cannot interfere with the decision of local courts on matters of internal administration.

A book room and connectional funds were early organized. Foreign missionary and educational committees were formed in 1860. A college for ministerial training was opened in Manchester in 1872, with the Rev. T. Hacking as tutor. Three years later Ashville College, Harrogate, was opened as a high school. The foreign missions are in Australasia, Jamaica, China, and East and West Africa.

The most prominent figure in the early councils of the connection was Robert Eckett. When he died, in 1862, the Assembly said "the cause of Christian liberty lost one of its most enlightened friends and one of the most gifted of its advocates." He took an active part in promoting the union of 1857, in molding the constitution and the missions. H. Breeden was an ardent revivalist. J. H. Roebuck, when quite a stripling, distinguished himself as a disputant against

Owenism. Samuel Sellars was the quaint preacher who at one Assembly was asked to explain a decrease in his circuit. He walked into the aisle and said, "Behold, a sower went forth to sow; . . . some seeds fell by the wayside, and the



DRAWN BY JOHN P DAVIS

ASHVILLE COLLEGE.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

fowls came and devoured them up." He repeated the entire parable and without another word resumed his seat. He was a most original and successful soul-winner.

Of the leaders of 1849–1857 James Everett, the first president of the United Assembly, was the most prominent. His memoirs of Dawson, Hick, Clarke, and Isaac enshrine his best pen-work. His large library and museum, after his death, in 1872, were secured for the theological college. William Griffith did not itinerate, but was minister at Derby for nearly thirty years. He was a man of wide sympathies, and survived all asperity toward the Church of his youth. At the Ecumenical Conference of 1881 he and others received the sacrament from the hands of Dr. Osborn. He thought

that gathering "the nearest approach to millennium happiness he should ever know on earth." He died two years later.

Richard Chew was for thirty-five years a chief pilot of the churches; a cool, clear-headed, far-seeing statesman, a debater of the first rank, a strong, instructive preacher, a wise president, a man of gracious, sterling character. His noble and successful work ended on Good Friday, 1895. "How comforting to know," he said, "that the Church is in Christ's hands;" and his last word expressed his one ground of hope: "Other refuge have I none."

John Mann, of shrill voice and shrewd wit, was a popular lecturer; J. Myers, a president strong in body and brain; R. Bushell, an active Church builder and mission secretary. His biographer was S. S. Barton, another much-loved official, whose "letters were a means of grace to mission-aries." He also wrote the Life of Charles New, the African mission martyr of 1875. G. Turner was a popular preacher and president; R. Abercrombie, once a quartermaster sergeant, had taken part in the revival in Gibraltar garrison (1824–1834). In Dublin, with drawn sword, he defended Lorenzo Dow, the American evangelist, from the mob. He became a stalwart preacher, and gave two sons to the ministry. The Rev. E. Boaden, now the eldest official in full work, has seen the chapels increase from 1,034 to 1,580 during his thirty years' secretaryship.

John Guttridge, endowed with popular gifts, public spirit, and infectious zeal, was in request throughout all the churches for a quarter century, and during his last ten months traveled nearly ten thousand miles in their service. He died in 1886. Marmaduke Miller was a preacher and lecturer of another type. A careful student of the art of sacred oratory, he ran-

sacked his immense library for all that bore on his subject, fused together the ideas gathered from all sources, wrote and rewrote with great skill, and spoke with fine elecution and spiritual fire. As secretary, editor, and president he served his Church, mastered national problems, and addressed vast



JAMES DUCKWORTH, M.P. Second layman president.

HENRY T. MAWSON, ESQ. . First layman president.

audiences on public questions. Marshall Mather and the brothers Hocking, Silas K. and Joseph, are well-known contributors to popular literature.

Among the laity J. B. Sharpley, thrice mayor of Louth, "was a tower of strength" for twenty years. Charles Cheetham, J.P., was another early connectional treasurer. W. H. Cozens Hardy, J.P., of Holt, rendered valuable legal service in the formative years of the churches. The laymen presidents have been H. T. Mawson (1883), who succeeded Mr. Cheetham in his treasurership, and J. Duekworth, M.P.

(1894), to whom the enlargement of the theological institute is largely due.

The United Methodist Free Churches report 91,717 members and 436 ministers (1900). They are to the front in temperance work, and have Forward Movement missions in London, Leeds, Manchester, and other towns; a training home for deaconesses, and some mission cars.

Some of the reformers of 1850 did not coalesce with the Free Churches, and their Wesleyan Reform Union reports 7,619 members. There are some Independent Methodist Churches federated with them, with 8,705 members. These bodies sent representatives to the Ecumenical Conferences of 1881 and 1891.

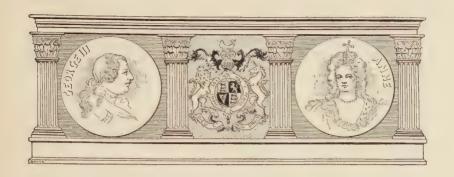
It was not until 1856 that Wesleyan Methodism began to recover from the disastrous effects of agitation and the loss of 100,000 members. In 1845 the British membership was about 340,000; in 1855 it was 260,000. During the next forty years the numbers rose to 433,000. The rate of increase during the forty years was not so large as in the prosperous period between 1825 and 1845, but it was steady, and, considering the highly organized rivalry of the Church of England during this later period, it was satisfactory. Better still, the spiritual tone has been recovered, constitutional reforms secured, peace restored, and a great "forward movement" inaugurated.

The Salvation Army must be regarded as an outgrowth of Methodism, although it has not been represented at the Ecumenical Conference, and does not profess to be based on ecclesiastical principles or make any provision for the administration of the sacraments. The founder, "General" William Booth, and his sainted wife were at one time members of the Methodist Church. Mr. Booth was proposed as a can-

didate for the Wesleyan ministry by the Rev. John Hall, supported by his colleagues, the revivalistic T. Nightingale and Luke Tyerman, the biographer of Wesley. But the lay members of the Lambeth quarterly meeting rejected him, not, as has been stated, from prejudice against open-air work —in which some of them in fact were diligently engaged but on other grounds. Neither is it true that "the Conference passed a resolution excluding Mr. Booth from any Wesleyan chapel." His case never came before the Weslevan Conference. He entered the ministry of the Methodist New Connection, but the Church regulations were not adapted to his genius for generalship. He retired and formed a separate Christian mission. In 1878–1879 he organized his society into an Army. Of the substitution of the democratic side of Methodism by the military autocracy into which the Army grew, he writes: "It was absolutely necessary to adopt some particular form of organization; and not knowing much of any that had in the past been adapted to the control of a religious movement among the poor other than that of Methodism, I tried to apply that system. I soon found, however, that the 'new wine' could not be stored in 'old bottles.' I saw that the application of all sorts of examinations, voting and committeeing, appointments, and the like, to men and women the majority of whom could only read with difficulty, and who could not discuss without risk of quarreling, must needs produce either a discouraging, obstructive result or lead to division and disturbance. So, after more than enough experience, I just dropped all that system of management in favor of the 'military' régime."

Mrs. Booth, the "mother of the Salvation Army," who died in 1890, was the greatest woman preacher of the century; the "Saint Catherine" of the fervent "soldiers," the

spiritual genius of the movement. In 1890 Mr. Booth published his book, In Darkest England, in which he sketched his scheme for the employment of the lapsed masses, and a farm colony, shelters, food depots, with other philanthropic agencies, have been developed. There are about five thousand British, "officers," and seven thousand five hundred "officers" are working among forty different races, countries, and colonies. The Army is Methodistic in doctrine, in its meetings for testimony, and its popular evangelism. "The Salvationists, taught by Wesley," said the late Bishop of Durham, "have learned, and taught to the Church again, the lost secret of the compulsion of human souls to the Saviour." Its social schemes resemble some of Wesley's, and the farm colony seeks to do for adults what Dr. Stephenson's successful farms in England and Canada have done for children during the last quarter of a century.



CHAPTER CXLIV

In the Service of the Nation

METHODISTS IN PARLIAMENT.—A NOBLY COMBATIVE COMMITTEE.—
LORDS RUSSELL, PALMERSTON, AND BEACONSFIELD.—PRAYING WITH
A PREMIER.—A TALK WITH GLADSTONE.—SIR WILLIAM MCARTHUR,
K.C.M.G.—METHODISM IN THE ARMY AND NAVY.

of all the larger British Churches. As a community it has studiously kept aloof from party movements, although it has taken vigorous action in regard to parliamentary measures affecting the cause of religious liberty, of morals, of popular education, of humanity, and of Protestantism. Wilberforce, as we have seen, was a stanch ally of Methodism, and from the first Methodist members of Parliament, J. Butterworth and Thomas Thompson, who represented Dover and Hull, to the present Methodists have sat in the House of Commons. To-day they number about thirty. Sir H. H. Fowler attained cabinet rank, and on Mr. Gladstone's retirement became secretary of state for India.

The Wesleyan Conference Committee of Privileges, consisting of ministers and laymen, including from the first several members of Parliament, has been a strong safeguard

of Methodist liberties. In 1803 it began by securing exemption from Sabbath drill for conscientious objectors in the regular army and militia. In 4811 it assisted in opposing Lord Sidmouth's intolerant bill, intended to curtail the freedom of lay preachers, and it organized numerous petitions which were presented by Lord Erskine, who eloquently supported the objections of the Methodist people. The bill was defeated, to the great joy of all the free Churches. In 1843 Sir James Graham introduced a bill which, in effect, handed over the education of children in factory districts to the Anglican clergy. The committee again cooperated with Nonconformists in successfully opposing this. It also rendered effective service in regard to the Maynooth Endowment Bill in 1845; the Charitable Trusts Bill in 1846; the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in 1851; the Burials Law Amendmend Act of 1880; and bills relating to places of worship, marriages, chaplaincies in the army and public institutions, and the rights of British subjects in Malta, Guernsey, and elsewhere. It has dealt with cases of clerical persecution in rural districts. It has not yet been successful in efforts to secure relief for Wesleyan ministers from the electoral disadvantages which result from their itinerancy.

Lord John Russell, the great Whig chieftain, is said to have been defeated in his candidature for Bedford in consequence of his disdainful attack upon Methodism in his Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe (1824); but he showed a favorable change of feeling in 1845, when he attended Great Queen Street Chapel and heard Dr. Gregory preach, by direction of the Conference, on religious education. At that time he found the Methodists on his side on the education question. A politician of a very different type was Daniel O'Connell; who attacked the Methodists in the newspapers of 1839,

declaring that Wesley was an accessory to the Gordon riots of 1780. The eloquent but ill-informed Irishman was effectively answered by the Revs. G. Cubitt and D. Macafee.

The most popular of prime ministers, Lord Palmerston, once had a remarkable interview with a Methodist. The master sweep of the houses of Parliament was a class leader, Mr. Day. He was one of the first to employ machine sweeping in lieu of the boy sweeps. Lord Palmerston met Day in one of the lobbies, and with characteristic affability stopped and humorously congratulated Day on the lightness of his duties and the fewness of his working hours as compared with his own.

"Lord Palmerston," said the class leader, always on the alert to give to conversation a religious turn, "I pray for you every day of my life."

"I thank you, Day," said he; "I believe in prayer."

Thereupon Day expressed a wish that he could pray with him as well as for him.

Said the premier, "Well, come with me."

He led him to a private room, locked the door, and knelt with bowed head while the master chimney sweep poured forth his soul with his own childlike, manly earnestness, invoking the divine blessing on the heavy-laden statesman. When they rose Lord Palmerston thanked him warmly, and said, "I have had many a bishop as my guest, but you are the first man that has ever prayed with me and for me personally."

Lord Beaconsfield in his early life came into connection with Methodism. At a country missionary meeting in 1832 the Rev. William Naylor, one of the five founders of the Missionary Society, met on the platform an orator described in his diary as "a handsome, dashing, clever young man, who spoke

effectively on behalf of Wesleyan missions." That young man was Benjamin Disraeli.

We have already quoted from Mr. Gladstone's writings in dealing with the evangelical revival. Mr. R. W. Perks, next to Sir H. H. Fowler the most prominent Methodist of recent days in Parliament, relates a suggestive talk he had with the great statesman in or about 1888:

- "'You are a Methodist, Mr. Perks; are you not?"
- "'Yes, I am, Mr. Gladstone, I replied.
- "'Do you belong to the old body?'
- "'Yes, I belong to the original foundation of Mr. Wesley; but, Mr. Gladstone,' said I, smiling, 'we call it a Church, and not a body.'
- "' Ah,' he replied, heaving a deep sigh, 'that raises an issue which has perplexed all Christendom. But now,' said the old man, resting his elbow on the table and placing his hand to his ear, 'tell me, Mr. Perks, how many sections there are of your Methodist Church (smiling as he used the word as though he thought he was pleasing me); and then tell me what were the causes of the various secessions; and then tell me what are their doctrinal differences; and then explain to me their various distinctive ecclesiastical usages.'
- "I was alarmed at the long vista which the question opened up, but there was Mr. Gladstone waiting with his hand to his ear, expecting from a Methodist layman, then less than half his age, an instantaneous and complete answer. So I plunged right into the absorbing subject. I explained the rise of the New Connection, the birth and growth of Primitive Methodism, the origin of the Bible Christians, the sad conflicts which led to the splitting away of the Free Methodists and the Reformers. Mr. Gladstone listened intently, saying very little. At length he said:

- "' Now, Mr. Perks, we will leave the past and deal with the present. What are your doctrinal differences?"
 - "" We have none, Mr. Gladstone, I replied.
- "" Would to God,' said the aged statesman, 'that my beloved Church could say the same.'"

Sir William McArthur, K. C. M. G. (1809-1897), was a Methodist member of Parliament who was distinguished for his attention to colonial policy. It was due chiefly to him that Fiji became part of the British empire. He was the son of a Wesleyan minister, and from first to last was devoted to his Church. Beginning commercial life as a tradesman, he became a munificent and philanthropic merchant prince in partnership with his like-minded brother, Alexander McArthur, who in the colonial legislature of Australia served an honorable apprenticeship for the British Parliament. Irish Methodism never lost its heart-hold upon the brothers. They gave £3,000 to Wesley College, Belfast, of which in 1865 William McArthur laid the foundation. In 1880 he was elected Lord Mayor of London. It was characteristic that one of the banquets of his mayoralty was given in honor of the heroic missionary, Moffat. It is illustrative of the width of his sympathies that he entertained at the Mansion House the Young Men's Christian Association and the Evangelical Alliance, the Iron and Steel Institute and the International Medical Congress. He also made a great feast for colonial notabilities, the Prince of Wales and the king of the Sandwich Islands being among the guests; the latter expressing his gratification in being entertained by a Lord Mayor of London who had visited his own distant kingdom. He will ever be reckoned among the worthies of the historic city of Londonderry, in which he began business life and of which he was an alderman many years before he was Lord Mayor of London. He

was a genuine man of Ulster, blending finely Scottish energy, enterprise, shrewdness, and thrift with Irish openness, impul-



SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR, K.C.M.G. Sometime Lord Mayor of London,

siveness, and generosity. His biography, by the Rev. T. McCullagh, reveals the habits of private devotion which gave

such purity and strength to the character of one of the noblest sons of Methodism and servants of the empire.

In the army and royal navy, since the days of John Haime and Captain Webb, Methodism has had a remarkable history of persecution, spiritual victories, and prolonged but finally



FROM THE COPPERPLATE BY H C. BALDING.

M'ARTHUR HALL, BELFAST.

successful struggle for rightful recognition by the War Office and the Admiralty. In 1803 two corporals in Gibraltar received two hundred lashes each for attending Methodist services, and were degraded; in 1898–9 we find the governor of Gibraltar opening a new Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, and in England members of the royal family, the secretary of state for war, and the commander in chief have taken part in similar ceremonies. W. H. Rule, D.D. (1802–1890), and C. H. Kelly (president of Conference in 1889) were pioneers in the effort to secure for Methodist soldiers and sailors their rights to the services of their own ministers in worship, hospitals, prisons, and war. An order issued by General Lord Hill in 1839 secured partial freedom. Dr. Rule had a hard struggle

for its enforcement. In 1862 the Wesleyan chaplains obtained recognition from the War Office. They have served in all re-



DRAWN BY P. E. FLINTOFF.

AFTER PHOTOGRAPHS

WESLEYAN SOLDIERS' HOMES AND CHURCHES.

Soldiers' Home, Buckingham Palace Road, London. Soldiers' Home, Floriana, Malta, Chatham Garrison Church. First Soldiers' Home, Aldershot, 1862.

cent campaigns, including the Soudan and South Africa, and,

in the words of Sir Herbert Kitchener's Omdurman dispatch, "have won the esteem of all by their untiring devotion to their sacred duties and by their unfailing and cheerful kindness to the sick and wounded at all times." In 1898 there were 24,132 declared Wesleyans in the army and navy; 200



THREE ARMY CHAPLAINS.

REV. CHARLES H. KELLY. REV. W. H. RULE. REV. RICHARD W. ALLEN.

ministers and chaplains. Twenty-nine homes, built at a cost of £34,000, are centers of successful social and spiritual work, which has been greatly developed under the secretary-chaplain, Richard W. Allen. The chaplain at Portsmouth has more than one thousand sailors under his care. The

missionary aspect of the work is notable, for soldiers and sailors were foremost helpers in founding churches in the United States, Canada, Tasmania, the West Indies, South Africa, and China. At Secunderabad the first missionary was a sergeant. "Be strong in your great military and naval centers," said the late Dr. Punshon, "and if there is any value in the records of the past, you will hasten forward the conversion of the world."



CHAPTER CXLV

A New Era for the Laity

THE FIRST LAYMEN AT CONFERENCE.—SOME GROUPS OF REPRESENT-ATIVES.—METHODISM IN THE METROPOLIS.—KNIGHTS, MAYORS, AND MAGISTRATES.—PATRIARCHS AND PREACHERS.—DISTINGUISHED DAUGHTERS.

THE Bradford Conference, 1878, marked a new epoch in Wesleyan Methodism. It was the first Conference at which representative laymen were present.

Since 1801 laymen had taken part in the financial business of district meetings. In 1803 they formed one half of the committee appointed "to guard our religious privileges in perilous times." Mainly through Dr. Bunting's influence they were placed on mission and chapel committees. Since 1861 representative committees of review, preparatory to Conference, had strongly influenced the course of legislation, and this conjoint action of ministers and laymen had worked so well that in 1875 the Conference considered methods of securing to the laity "a more direct, adequate, and formal participation in administration not purely pastoral."

A system of lay representation was proposed at the Nottingham Conference, 1876. Among its advocates were Drs. Punshon, Rigg, Stephenson, Gregory, Jenkins, Stamp and

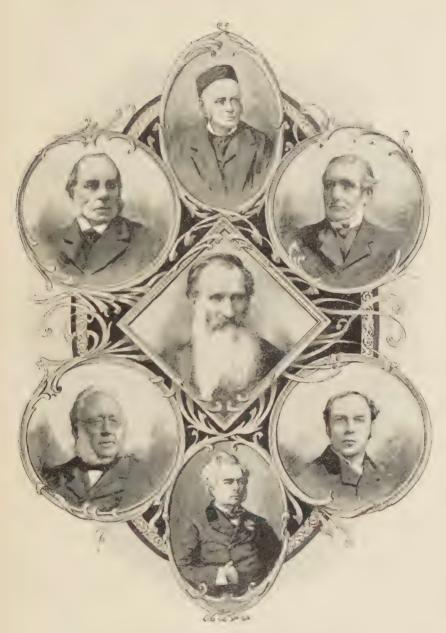
Gervase Smith, W. Arthur, and G. T. Perks. Its most powerful opponent was Dr. G. Osborn. The proposal was carried by 369 votes against 49; and one who was present says: "The profound, solemn, and most expressive silence with which the announcement of the voting was received after such a



SAMUEL DOUSLAND WADDY, D.D.

REV. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D.

lengthened period of solicitous excitement was very striking and impressive, one might almost say sublime. A hallowed hush pervaded the assembly. Not a murmur of satisfaction or disappointment escaped the lips of a solitary brother. Everyone seemed awed, as in the presence of a great event. A dignity and a devoutness worthy of such a body of ministers at such a crisis held the whole Conference under absolute control." The minority acquiesced, and cooperated loyally in the subsequent working of the principle; not a minister or member seceded.



A GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED WESLEYAN LAYMEN.

Percy W. Bunting.

Hon. Judge Waddy, Q.C., M.P.

THOMAS PERCIVAL BUNTING.
SIR HENRY H. FOWLER, G.C.S.I., M.P.
SIR ISAAC HOLDEN.
ROBERT W. PERKS, M.P.



In 1878 Dr. J. H. Rigg presided at the first Conference which was both pastoral and representative. Dr. Rigg's lifelong study and luminous expositions of Methodist polity, his early suggestions of the expansion, his mastery of business, and his balanced liberalism rendered him the most fitting man for such a trust. The Conference now consisted of two hundred and forty ministers and two hundred and forty laymen. The pastoral session was held first, and the representative session met in the third week; but, this proving inconvenient, in 1891 the representatives met in the second week. In 1898 it was decided that the representative session should meet first.

Lay representation in the district meeting (termed synod, 1892) has also advanced. In 1893 circuits were allowed to send elected laymen to the synod, in addition to the circuit stewards, for the transaction of business "not purely pastoral." One layman is elected where the circuit has one minister, and two where there are three or more.

At the Anglican Church Congress of 1898 the Bishop of Glasgow said: "Of all Church reform, the one that now seems to be recognized as of primary importance is the restoration to the laity of their primitive rights—the right of taking an active part in the proclamation of the kingdom of Christ; of assisting in the election of the officers of the Church; of bearing a share, as the laymen did at Corinth, in the administration of Church discipline; of a recognized place in the Church's councils." In the London Quarterly Review for January, 1899, W. L. Watkinson justly points out that "these very rights and privileges are already conceded in Methodism. . . . The popular element has existed in Methodism from the beginning, a Methodist class meeting is the ideal democracy; and slowly and surely, as befits a large corpora-

tion, the laity has proceeded all through the century to a more commanding share in the government of their Church. Methodism has about solved the problem that the Anglican Church is beginning to attack." And this has been done by Wesleyan Methodists without any infringement on pastoral rights and responsibilities.

We can only name a few of the laymen who have helped to mold Methodism since its centenary. James Wood, of Manchester, the early friend of Bunting, was the centenary treasurer, and a warm advocate of the theological institution. Thomas Farmer (died 1861) was a like-minded man-a largehearted, sagacious counselor. James Heald, M.P., of Stockport, was for half a century as successful as a class leader as he was in all philanthropic labors in town and state. Foreign missions and theological colleges were for forty years his special objects of regard. His brother-in-law, Dr. Wood, of Southport, who attended him in his last illness, 1873, was associated with many noble movements. J. Robinson Kay, of Summerseat (1805-1872), was a leading promoter of day schools, and a lay founder of the London Quarterly Review. John Howard, mayor of Bedford, born a month before Wesley died, became the oldest living local preacher. The patriarch of eighty-eight preached in a village pulpit a month before he died, in 1879.

John Fernley (1796–1874) threw his whole soul into religious and benevolent enterprises of almost princely character. He was a well-read theologian and a keen critic. He founded the Fernley Lecture with the object of securing an annual expression of the Conference on some topic of theology. A succession of valuable treatises on divinity and ethics has been the result, including the great monograph by Mr. Fernley's biographer, Dr. W. B. Pope, on the Person of

Christ. Another institution designed to promote the intellectual life of Methodism is the Allan Library, which Mr. T. R. Allan, son of the Wesleyan lawyer who was one of the first members of the Committee of Privileges, gave to his

Church in 1884. It was the collection of a lifetime, and is rich in literary curiosities and biblical treasures.

Thomas Percival

Bunting, the son and biographer of Dr. Bunting, died in 1885. For more than half a century this Methodist lawyer devoted his versatile gifts to Church work, taking a leading part in the Centenary, the Relief and Extension, the Missionary Jubilee (1863) and the Thanksgiving-fund movements. He pos-



FROM THE ENGRAVING BY J H BAPER $J(JHN\ \ FERNLEY.$ Founder of the Fernley Lectureship.

sessed genuine literary gifts, and was a pungent, effective speaker. John Beauchamp (died 1891), like the two McArthurs, was the son of an Irish minister, who came to London and became identified with metropolitan Methodism. He was one of many thousands who regarded City Road Chapel with loving veneration as their spiritual birthplace. He was of noble character, took a deep interest in the literature of Methodism, and was a kingly giver.

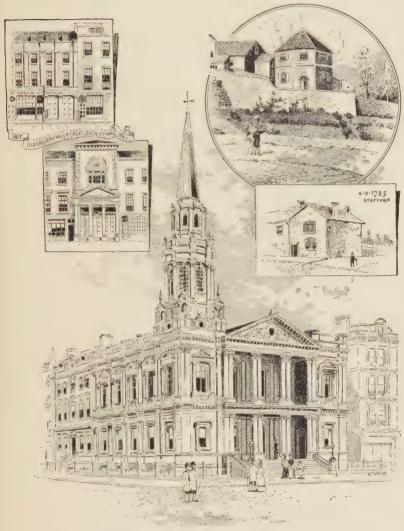
City Road Chapel in the mid-century was rich in laity who were at the front in every holy enterprise. There was Thomas Marriot, local preacher, Chapel Fund treasurer, and antiquarian, who bequeathed large sums to Methodist funds Launcelot Heslop, who succeeded Butterworth in the mis sionary treasury; the Scarlets, the Howdens, and the Tooths



THE ALLAN LIBRARY BUILDING.

—whose well-filled pew was known to wags as "the jaw bone;" and the Gabriels, a noted couple who gave a family to Methodism, one of their sons, Christopher Gabriel, becoming the first Methodist Lord Mayor of London.

A famous London citizen and sheriff was Sir Francis Lycett. During his shrievalty he had to visit Paris with Sir S Waterlow to present an address to the Emperor Napoleon III who fixed Sunday to receive the address. But the British



WESLEYAN CHAPELS, OLD AND NEW.

Great Queen Street, London, 1817. Great Queen Street, London, 1841.

Hepstonstall Octagon, 1797. Stafford, 1785.

Hinde Street Church, London, 1899.

sheriff declined Sunday business, and another day was chosen. Born in 1803, Sir Francis lived to take part as a lay representative in Conference in 1880, and died two months later. The remarkable growth of London Methodism is largely due to his munificent support of the Metropolitan Chapel Building Fund, established in 1862. He gave £50,000 on condition that an equal amount should be raised throughout Methodism, and that ten chapels, each seating one thousand, should be built in ten years. He left £24,000 to the fund at his death, besides large legacies to other objects. More than ninety chapels have been built in London since the fund was established. Before 1862 there were only three important chapels south of the Thames; now there are nearly forty, and the spiritual work has become correspondingly progressive.

Thomas B. Smithies, the founder and editor of the British Workman (1855), completely transformed illustrated periodicals for the people, and enlisted some of the first artists of the day in his service. By able platform advocacy in every department of social reform; by special work among the criminal classes, the intemperate, and the deserving poor; by labors of love among postmen, policemen, cabmen, sweeps, soldiers, sailors, and railway employees of all kinds; by practical sympathy with young men, many of whom he helped into good positions in life; by constant efforts to gladden the hearts of children, whom he intensely loved; and, notably, by persistent labor for the preservation of the sanctity of the Lord's day and for the prevention of cruelty to animals, he did immense good. His office in Paternoster Row, London, was a council chamber for philanthropic reformers, and when the beloved editor died, in 1883, multitudes mourned their loss.

John Napier was associated with Manchester Methodism

from 1817 until he fell asleep, in 1890, "with his ninety years lying lightly upon him." "In his family, in the Church, as a citizen, and as a man of business," said F. W. Macdonald, "he lived to the very finish:" a successful class leader for



T. B. SMITHIES.

Founder and editor of the British Workman.

sixty-three years; treasurer of Didsbury College for a quarter century; one of the founders of the Central Hall of the modern mission; for fifty years a director of the City Mission and Bible Society, and a patriarch of Conference.

A famous local preacher, who died in 1898, was J. Barritt

Melson, an M.D. of Cambridge, in his time a distinguished physician and the senior magistrate of Birmingham. While professor of natural philosophy and hygiene in the medical school he had among his pupils the late Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Westcott, the present Bishop of Durham. He was the first to introduce into Birmingham photography, electroplating, and telegraphy. During thirty-six years he preached, on an average, a hundred sermons a year, and for twenty-five years at least it was his practice to read the Old Testament through once a year, the New Testament three, and the Psalter twelve, times.

In the domain of science, J. T. Slugg, F.R.A.S., of Manchester, John Potts, F.G.S., of Macclesfield, and others, have also done original work. John Birchenal, of Macclesfield, was a "beloved physician" of saintly life, whose memoir has been well written by A. J. French, B.A.

To these honored names might be added many others, such as the Right Honorable Sir H. H. Fowler, already noticed; the Lidgetts; the Eastmans; the Corderoys; the Vanners; the Pococks; the Allens; the Hills, of York; the Holmeses, of Hull; Sir G. H. Chubb; Sir Clarence Smith; Sir J. Falshaw; Sir George Smith, and his brothers, W. Bickford Smith, M.P., and H. A. Smith, M.A., sons of the Methodist historian; Sir Isaac Holden, M.P.; H. T. Atkinson, M.P.; the Shillingtons, of Ireland; Lewis Williams and T. Owen, M. P., of Wales; the Mewburns, of Banbury; the Barnsleys and Parkes, of Birmingham; John Hall, of Leek; the Budgetts, Mays, and Gardners, of Bristol; the Stotts, of Haslingden; Morgan Hervey, the missionary treasurer; W. H. Stephenson, of Newcastle, and thirty Methodist mayors, with a host of magistrates and chairmen of district councils, whose administrative abilities render high service in synods and Conferences.



WESLEYAN SCHOOL AND COLLEGES.



Five of the fathers of the first representative Conference were at the Conference of 1898: Alexander McArthur, W. Mewburn, W. Tunstill, W. Vanner, and Judge Waddy, Q.C., one of the many distinguished alumni of Wesley College, Sheffield, of which his father, Dr. S. D. Waddy, was a founder and successful governor. T. G. Osborn, M.A., also of Sheffield College, is a famous schoolmaster and mathematician, who did much to raise Kingswood School to its high position among the public schools of England.

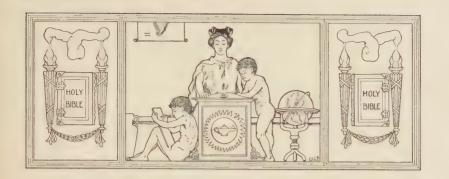
James Smetham, the artist, Charles Mansford, B.A., H. A. Reatchlous, M.A., have added distinction to the Westminster Training College, of which Dr. Rigg has been principal from 1868. J. H. Cowham, J. Bailey, and R. Dunstan, Mus. Doc. (Cambridge), have written educational manuals.

Percy W. Bunting, M.A., editor of the Contemporary Review, has taken part in every educational movement, the Leys School at Cambridge being a standing monument of his services, as well as the middle-class schools established all over England. The liberalism of the grandson of Dr. Bunting "is a standing argument against any doctrine of political heredity." He contributed a noteworthy essay, on the Influence of Scientific Progress on Religious Thought, to the Ecumenical Conference of 1891.

Christian women have done much to develop the spiritual and philanthropic work of Methodism. A sensational event at the Conference of 1894 was the appearance of a lady elected by a London synod. Next year it was determined that women are not eligible for election to Conference, but their names appear in the Minutes as members of committees of the Children's Home, Evangelistic Missions, and the Women's Auxiliary of Foreign Missions. Every town mission has its sisters. In 1895 a deaconess institute with one hundred and

twenty members was sanctioned by the Conference. Miss Frances E. Willard, of the United States, was publicly welcomed by the London ministers in 1892, and her visits gave an impulse not only to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of which she was president, but to all the social and philanthropic work of her British Methodist sisters, who deeply mourned her death in 1898.

During the last half century Methodist women have taken active part in educational movements, and a few writers have come to the front. Matthew Arnold found in the letters and poems of Emma Tatham "a sincere vein of poetic feeling, a genuine aptitude for composition," but, characteristically, he is repelled by what he calls the "bare, blank, narrowly English setting of Miss Tatham's Protestantism." A literary woman of note, who died in 1898, was Mrs. Everett-Green, who was engaged for forty years under the master of the rolls in editing state papers in the record office. Edith Waddy, Annie E. Keeling, Dora M. Jones, Adeline Sergeant, and the Misses Edith and Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler are among the later literary daughters of Methodism.



CHAPTER CXLVI

Links with Literature and Art

CARLYLE'S METHODIST HERO.—TENNYSON'S HONEST METHODISTS.—
DORA GREENWELL, AND THE SECRET OF THE STRENGTH OF METHODISM.—SOME EMINENT ARTISTS.

Eliot has been arrested by the revelation of strength and beauty in the lives of obscure Methodists who were unconscious heroes and saints. Thomas Carlyle, in his Past and Present, storms at Methodism as he catches a distorted view of it, "with its eye turned inward, asking itself with torturing anxiety of hope and fear: 'Am I right? Am I wrong? Shall I be saved? Shall I be damned?' What is this at bottom but a new phasis of egoism stretched out into the infinite; not always the heavenlier for its infinitude."

Carlyle said to Dr. William H. Milburn: "We've a queer place in this country called the Derbyshire Peak. I was there some years ago and went on the Lord's day to the Wesleyan chapel; and a man got up and preached with extraordinary fluency and vehemence and I was astonished at his eloquence. They told me that he was a nail maker; that he wrought six days in the week with his own hands for his daily bread, and preached upon the seventh without charge. When he had

ended another man came forward and prayed; and I was greatly moved by the unction of his prayer. And they told me that he was a rope maker, and that he toiled as the other."

But Carlyle disliked the preachers' doctrine of assurance and retribution, and told Milburn that "Wesleyans make cowards." With an inconsistency that needs no comment it is Carlyle himself, in his Life of John Sterling, who tells the following story of a miner whom he calls "this Methodist hero:" "In a certain Cornish mine, said the newspapers, duly specifying it, two miners, deep down in the shaft, were engaged putting in a shot for blasting; they had completed their affairs and were about to give the signal for being hoisted up; one at a time was all their coadjutor at the top could manage, and the second was to kindle the match and then mount with all speed. Now it chanced while they were both still below one of them thought the match too long; tried to break it shorter; took a couple of stones, a flat and a sharp, to cut it shorter; did cut it of the due length, but, horrible to relate, kindled it at the same time, and both were still below! Both shouted vehemently to the coadjutor at the windlass, both sprang at the basket; the windlass man could not move it with both. Here was a moment for poor miner Jack and miner Will! Instant horrible death hangs over both; when Will generously resigns himself: 'Go aloft, Jack,' and sits down; 'away; in one moment I shall be in heaven!' Jack bounds aloft, the explosion instantly follows, bruises his face as he looks over. He is safe above ground—and poor Will! Descending eagerly, they find Will, too, as if by miracle, buried under rocks, which had arched themselves over him, and little injured; he too is brought up safe, and all ends joyfully, say the newspapers. Such a piece of manful promptitude and salutary human heroism was worth investigating. It was investigated; found to be accurate to the letter—with this addition and explanation: that Will, an honest, ignorant, good man, entirely given up to Methodism, had been perfect in the 'faith of assurance;' certain that he should get to heaven if he died, certain that Jack would not; which had been the ground of his decision in that great moment.'

Lord Tennyson wrote to Miss Sellwood from Mablethorpe, in 1839: "I am housed at Mr. Wildman's, an old friend of mine in these parts; he and his wife are two perfectly honest Methodists. When I came I asked her after news, and she replied: 'Why, Mr. Tennyson, there's only one piece of news that I know—that Christ died for all men.' And I said to her, 'That is old news, and good news, and new news;' wherewith the good woman seemed satisfied. I was half yesterday reading anecdotes of Methodist ministers, and liking to read them too; . . . and of the teaching of Christ, that purest light of God." With the Wesleyan doctrine of free will Tennyson was in full accord. Free will was "undoubtedly," he said, "the main miracle. Apparently an act of self-limitation by the Infinite, and yet a revelation by himself of himself." "Take away the sense of individual responsibility and men sink into pessimism and madness." He wrote at the end of the poem "Despair:" "In my boyhood I came across the Calvinist creed, and assuredly, however unfathomable the mystery, if one cannot believe in the freedom of the human will as of the divine, life is hardly worth the living." The famous line from "In Memoriam" is suggested:

Our wills are ours to make them Thine.

On the last Sunday of 1886 a veteran local preacher, Isaac Porter, went through a furious gale to preach at Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight. Feeling faint, the old man turned in

by the gateway of Heathfield Lodge and there fell dead. "At that moment Lord Tennyson and Professor Ralston, who was Lord Tennyson's guest, were approaching. A good woman, well knowing how such a sight as that would shock the sensitive nature of the poet, who was just recovering from the sorrow occasioned by the death of his son Lionel, called Professor Ralston aside and advised him not to go further in that direction, explaining her reason. Tennyson, overhearing the conversation, at once demanded to be taken to the spot without delay. With his own hands he helped to carry Mr. Porter's body, . . . and took charge of his watch, notes of sermons, and other papers. The poet laureate was profoundly impressed with the circumstance that the two texts selected for that day's sermons were, 'And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him; 'and, 'The Lord God is a sun and shield.""

"What a noble thing," said Professor Ralston, "thus to die at the post of duty."

The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for January, 1899, gives a facsimile of the letter which Tennyson wrote to the local preacher's nephew.

When Tennyson himself was "crossing the bar" intercession was made for him in almost every Methodist church in Britain, and thankfulness expressed that he, like Robert Browning, had found the lofty inspiration and profound peace of a true conception of the living God, and of everlasting life in the

Strong Son of God, immortal Love.

The most philosophic woman poet and devotional writer of the century, Dora Greenwell (1821–1882) has ministered richly to the inner life of thoughtful Methodists. Whittier, who prefaced the American edition of her Patience of Hope, ranked her work with that of Augustine, à Kempis, Tauler, Fénelon, and Woolman. Although she was not a Methodist, she penetrated the secret of all that is best in Methodism. "Do you not think," she writes, "that the secret of the extraordinary hold of Methodism upon the English poor lies in the strict and intimate communion which forms so essential a part of it?

... Methodism is eminently social; its idea is that of journeying Zionward in companies, gathering as they go; husbands, wives, friends, servants, little ones, 'leaving not a hoof behind;' its activities are ever aggressive, its sympathies ever widening."

We weep for those who weep below,
And, burdened for the afflicted, sigh
The various forms of human woe
Attract our softest sympathy.

Dora Greenwell marks "another secret of the strength of Methodism"—its "directness: bringing a soul into a felt relation with its God; making the first step in spiritual progress to consist in a real conscious transaction between the soul and him." "It brings the great and comforting reality of pardon and acceptance, the love and peace and joy of believing, into far stronger relief than is generally done in Church teaching."

"When we consider the state of our lapsed masses, the great gulf their modes of life and thought have fixed between them and all methods of regular instruction and gradual training, we learn to bless a teaching that applies such powerful stimulants, such strong consolations to the soul; that rouses it from the deadly lethargy of sense and sin and sends it out perhaps to weep in solitary places, to 'wrestle,' as the poor Methodist expresses it, with its God; that lifts it from the conflict into the clear sunshine of peace and hope and rejoi-

cing; that leaves it at the feet of Jesus, saying, 'I have found him whom my soul loveth.'

"Sudden conversions, with the ecstatic warmth of feeling that follows upon them, are derided, but only by those who



JOHN JACKSON, R.A.

The Methodist portrait painter.

know, even as regards natural things, little of the secret powers, the reserved forces of the human spirit, and are unaware that in the depth of ignorant, of hardened and weary and distracted souls, there is still a strength, blind and fettered like that of Samson, needing a shock to set it free.

'The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.' Methodism has entered into the heart of this saying."

Several of the portraits in this volume are from paintings

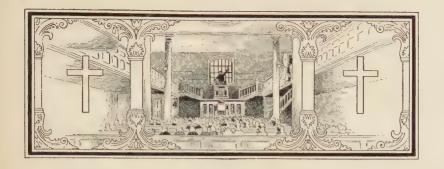


JAMES SMETHAM.
Artist and diarist.

by the first Methodist Royal Academician, John Jackson, who in the earlier years of the century was an active worker at Hinde Street Chapel, London. "Probably few readers of

the Methodist Magazine," says W. G. Beardmore, "when they saw inscribed beneath the monthly portrait, 'Painted by Jackson,' had any idea of the splendid achievements of the man, who had climbed high enough in his vocation to write his name in the same grade of academic honors as Reynolds, Lawrence, Romney, and Hoppner." To Jackson's name must be added J. Clarke Hook, R.A., whose grandsire was Dr. Adam Clarke; Marshall Claxton, a minister's son; James Smetham, another son of the prophets; G. P. Everett-Green, Stephen Chesters, J. Adams-Acton, sculptor; and Arthur T. Nowell, also the son of a minister. Sir Edward J. Poynter, president of the Royal Academy, and Sir Edward Burne-Jones found their talented and accomplished wives in the Wesleyan parsonage at Chelsea which honored the late Rev. George B. Macdonald as its paternal head, and another of that distinguished Methodist sisterhood was the wife of the artist Lockwood Kipling, and the mother of his more distinguished son.

Probably no book relating to a Methodist, except Southey's Life of Wesley, has been welcomed with such unanimity of appreciation in purely literary circles as the Letters of James Smetham. The poet, painter, art critic, and devoted Methodist class leader won the enthusiastic admiration of Ruskin and Rossetti. Ruskin writes of Smetham's death, "One of the most deeply mourned losses to me among the few friends with whom I could 'take counsel."



CHAPTER CXLVII

The Modern Methodist Ministry

SOME FEATURES OF THE NEW AGE.—THE UNBROKEN CONTINUITY OF DOCTRINE.—WILLIAM MORLEY PUNSHON, ORATOR AND ADMINISTRATOR.—WILLIAM FIDDIAN MOULTON, SCHOLAR, HEAD MASTER, SAINT.—THEOLOGY; BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP; SCIENCE.

Such marvelous changes have taken place in national life during the last half century that it would be strange indeed if Methodist ministers had not been influenced to some extent by their environment. Their close association from the beginning of their career with a peculiarly alert laity, actively identified with national interests and trained for public work by Methodism itself, has done much to make the ministers men of their age. Some of the movements which have affected the preachers' habits of thought, the form of their teaching, and their methods of work have already been noticed, such as the rise of the democracy since the extension of the franchise, the industrial revolution, the reforms in the conditions of life and labor, the march of education, and the entrance of a growing host of Free Churchmen into public life and Parliament.

Methodist literature, both in its periodical and more permanent forms, reveals that the modern ministerial brain

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has been exercised, even more directly, on questions raised by the sacerdotal revival in the Established Church, the developments in systematic theology and Biblical scholarship, the advance in physical and philosophical science, the growth of popular literature, the new facilities for intellectual training, and the new ideals of social reform. In the London Quarterly Review, which under Dr. Rigg's editorship has for many years registered the high-water mark in the tide of Methodist thought, one writer of 1894 justly observes that "with Wesley the work of saving souls included the application of Christian morality in the work of social reform . . . and one function of the Christian Church in her prophetic or teaching office is to show how the precepts of Christ bear upon the new questions which are constantly arising in the complex life of modern society."

But the theological creed of Methodism remains unchanged, and the Conference of 1898, in its annual address, was able to declare: "While every age seeks to express truth in its own forms of speech, and may sometimes succeed in improving on the phraseology of the past, there is no sign of any change in our attitude toward the foundation doctrines of the faith.

... We are not haunted by misgivings lest the truth which has sanctified multitudes should not be taught to our children and to our children's children. The doctrinal continuity of the religious movement of which we are children and heirs is absolutely unbroken, although we need to pray, as will every fresh generation, for the passionate conviction of our forefathers. That cannot be acquired by heredity or tradition, and must be sought anew through every day of our history."

William Morley Punshon, LL.D. (1824–1881), stood alone as the religious orator of his day. In his own province he has had no peer, but his style and life-work mark a transition period.

He had been only seven years in the ministry when he appeared for the first time on the platform of Exeter Hall, London, in 1853, as a speaker at the anniversary meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Other speakers were Dr.



REV. WILLIAM F. MOULTON, D.D.

REV. W. MORLEY PUNSHON, LL.D.

Hannah, the Right Honorable Joseph Napier, M.P., John Rattenbury, Gibson McMillen, from Ireland; E. J. Robinson, from Ceylon, and the renowned orator of the middle age of Methodism, Dr. Newton. An interest attaches to the meeting which only time could bring to light. It was Robert Newton's last appearance at the anniversary, and Morley Punshon's first. "For the first and last time they stood together in the cause with which their names must always be linked. The elder handed the torch to the younger, and passed away. That May morning divides the earlier from the later period of missionary advocacy. The name of Newton may stand for one, the name of Punshon for the other."

The next year Punshon lectured in the same hall, on "The Prophet of Horeb," to nearly three thousand people. "There was the stillness and solemnity of death. You might have heard a feather fall in that vast assembly; and when the last sentence had fallen from his lips the whole audience rose and cheered till it could cheer no more." This was the first of many similar triumphs achieved in Britain, Canada, and the United States. When he delivered his second Exeter Hall lecture, on "John Bunyan," at one of his magnificent climaxes the vast concourse of people sprang tumultuously to their feet; some shouted "Bravo!" some "Hurrah!" some "Hallelujah!" others "Glory be to God!" and a tornado of applause swept through the building.

Punshon's brilliant biographer, F. W. Macdonald (president of Conference in 1899), does not find "the secret of the spell" by which the orator held vast multitudes in thrall in any originality of plan, or special critical insight, or in the lessons enforced, which were "familiar even to triteness," "Nevertheless there is originality from first to last." "By temperament and cast of mind he was an orator." As he composed his lectures within the chambers of his heart and brain invisible audiences assembled. "They were with him as he thought and read and wrote." The structure of his orations, the marvelous climaxes, the skillful changes of key, the subtle modulations of language, "the genial sense of kinship, which makes a thousand pulses beat like one," and his consummate elocution, all contributed to his power. "Not an intonation was wanting that could give expression to his meaning or add a beauty to stately language. There was a rhythmic beat in his tones that wrought upon the ear like a spell."

Between 1854 and 1881 Punshon lectured six hundred and

fifty times, to audiences ranging from five hundred to five thousand persons, and raised fifty or sixty thousand pounds for various branches of Christian work; but, far beyond that, he gave to tens of thousands of persons a mental and moral stimulus which led in numberless instances to higher and more fruitful life. His lectures, in effect, were glorious sermons, and he never forgot that he was first of all a preacher. On the platform he once pointed to the pulpit and cried out, with flashing eye and ringing voice, "That, sir, is my throne!" and thereupon broke forth into a passionate and eloquent declamation on the peerless glory of the pulpit and the more than imperial power of the preacher of "Jesus Christ, and him crucified."

The account of Punshon's work as president of the Canadian Conference (1867-1873) belongs to the history of worldwide Methodism. When Sir William McArthur asked John Macdonald, a distinguished citizen of Toronto, "What did Punshon do for you when he was out here?" Mr. Macdonald replied, "Do for us? why, he pushed us on half a century." In 1874 Dr. Punshon was elected president of the British Conference. In 1875 he became a secretary for foreign missions. His consummate administrative powers surprised those who had only known him as an accomplished orator. "He was loved for his nobility not less than he was admired for his greatness." In 1881 he was brought home from Genoa to die, and on an April morning, just after exclaiming, "Christ is to me a bright reality. Jesus! Jesus!" there was a smile as of kindling rapture, and William Morley Punshon entered into rest.

William Fiddian Moulton, M.A. Lond. and Cantab., D.D. Edin., born at Leek in 1835, was the most distinguished scholar of modern Methodism. His grandfather and father

were ministers. His brothers, J. Fletcher Moulton, Q.C., F.R.S., a well-known scientific counsel; Professor R. G. Moulton, of Chicago University, and the Rev. J. Egan Moulton, principal of Newington College, Sydney, all prove the extraordinary capacity of the family for scholarship. Dr. Moulton was educated at Woodhouse Grove School and Wesley College, Sheffield. At the latter place, in 1852, he attained, after long seeking, the personal knowledge of salvation.

In London University he took his M.A. degree, winning the gold medal for mathematics and natural philosophy. This, however, only showed one side of his varied knowledge, for he afterward carried off the prizes for Hebrew, Greek, and Christian evidences; the most distinguished student who ever passed in those subjects. He was called to the ministry in 1858, and for sixteen years was a tutor at Richmond College. His earliest colleagues, Alfred Barrett and Benjamin Hellier, exercised an enduring influence on his character.

In 1870 Dr. Moulton was appointed a member of the Committee for the Revision of the New Testament. Dr. Ellicott, then a professor of theology at Cambridge, persuaded him to undertake what is perhaps his greatest work in theological scholarship, the English edition of Winer's Grammar of the Greek Testament. It attracted the immediate notice of scholars and laid the foundation of Dr. Moulton's great reputation. The work of the Revision Committee brought him some of the happiest friendships of his life. He met there the brilliant trio of Cambridge scholars, Drs. Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, who remodeled the divinity teaching of that university and gave it an unrivaled position.

Dr. Moulton was remarkable in the Revision Committee for his exact and ready knowledge. Bishop Westcott wrote of him after his death: "Close and constant intercourse increased my admiration for his scholarship, and to this was added a personal affection which has grown deeper through all the years that have followed."

"I have worked with other scholars," continues Bishop Westcott, "whose attainments were as consummate as Dr.



THE MODERN KINGSWOOD SCHOOL, BATH.

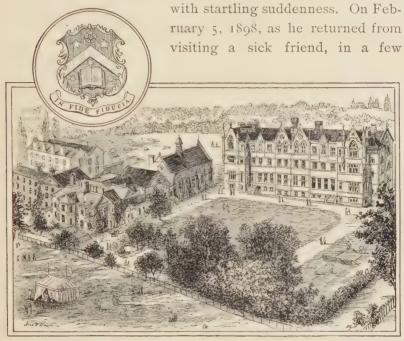
known one more alert or of more balanced judgment. Dr. Moulton seemed to me to take an impartial account of every element in a critical problem, and to strive with unwearied patience to give to it just weight. One thing which always touched me most deeply was his spirit of absolute self-sacrifice and self-forgetfulness. He was wholly unaffected by the thought of recognition or recompense. No labor was too great if he could contribute anything to the

completeness of another's work. The sense of thoroughness in the work itself was his reward, though the workman was unnoticed. It was in vain to protest, as I often did, against what I held to be an excess of care in the fulfillment of his share in our common task. He could not be satisfied with anything which he felt able to improve or to make more sure. One signal fruit of such loving, patient, and minute labor, in which even I could not blame his untiring and scrupulous care, will, I trust, soon enrich the student of Holy Scripture. About a fortnight before his death he wrote to me, 'I hope in a few weeks to be able to tell you that the marginal references to the New Testament are complete.' Through these references I believe that Dr. Moulton will lead many generations of students to recognize with a personal conviction the unity and the variety of the Bible. No memorial of his life could be more appropriate, or, I think, more welcome to himself." Since Dr. Moulton's death this "memorial" has been published.

Another great work of Dr. Moulton's life was the founding of the Leys School, Cambridge, in 1874. He was appointed the head master. In a quarter of a century the school has risen to an honorable place among the public schools of England. The Right Honorable A. J. Balfour, M.P., speaking at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the school, said: "It has already proved that it can inspire in those who have passed their school days here that warm affection and that patriotism for their school which all the great public schools of this country have so notably shown."

When Dr. Moulton was elected president of the Conference, in 1890, men were astonished to discover that the self-suppressing scholar was a man of affairs and an ideal moderator. He was in full sympathy with an enterprising and aggressive

Methodism. His preaching was deeply expository and experimental, tender, and faithful. He walked before God with a humility that deepened to the end. And the end came



DRAWN BY J. P. DAVIS.

AFTER A WOODCUT.

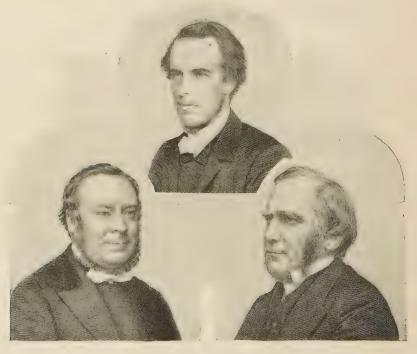
THE LEYS SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE.

moments the busy and watchful servant passed, without a sigh or the "sadness of farewell," to the presence of his Lord.

John Drury-Geden, D.D. (1822–1886), was for twenty-seven years classical tutor at Didsbury College. His repute as a biblical and oriental scholar led to his election to the Company for the Revision of the Old Testament, and for many years he attended its bimonthly sittings in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster. He was an ideal tutor, possessing

not only stores of learning, but a remarkable power to communicate knowledge.

Benjamin Hellier was for twenty-five years a classical tutor at Didsbury and Richmond, and for ten years the revered



REV. JOHN D. GEDEN, D.D.
REV. SAMUEL COLEY. REV. BENJAMIN HELLIER.

governor of Headingley College. During this period nearly seven hundred students were brought under his noble personal influence. Dr. Moulton, his intimate friend, said, "Mr. Hellier furnished as fine a type of Christian manliness as it has ever been my privilege to witness." His Life and

Teaching, edited by his children, is a biographical treasure.

Samuel Coley succeeded John Lomas in the theological



A GROUP OF CONFERENCE PRESIDENTS, 1864-1894.

Rev. Joseph Bush. Rev. John Bedford. Rev. F. J. Jobson. Rev. George T. Perks. Rev. William L. Thornton. Rev. Alexander McAulay. Rev. William Shaw. Rev. Ebenezer E. Jenkins. Rev. Samuel R. Hall. Rev. Luke H. Wiseman. Rev. Frederic Greeves. Rev. Walford Green. Rev. R. Newton Young Rev. John H. James. Rev. Richard Roberts. Rev. Gervase Smith. Rev. Thomas McCullach. Rev. John Walton. Rev. Benjamin Gregory.



chair at Headingley College in 1873. He was not only a theologian, and a special student of the schoolmen, but a master of the best popular style of preaching, sparkling with ideas—Anglo-Saxon, like Bunyan's; illustrative, like Guthrie's; piquant and sententious, like Arnot's.

"The years 1880–1881 will ever be memorable for the number of illustrious names, both of ministers and laymen, recorded in the roll of its dead. The loss in the previous year of two such princes in Israel as John Bedford and John Rattenbury was but the beginning of sorrows. In quick and startling succession the names of Samuel Coley, Francis Lycett, F. J. Jobson, W. M. Punshon, and W. O. Simpson were added to the mournful list—some, it is true, in the hallowed and tranquil evening of their life, but others while it was yet day." The writer of these words, Dr. R. N. Young, president of Conference in 1886, was another distinguished classical tutor, the master of a well-nigh perfect literary style, who died in 1898.

Among the contemporaries of Dr. Punshon was Luke H. Wiseman, M.A., who before entering the ministry was the private secretary of Sir Thomas Powell Buxton, and acted as his amanuensis in preparing some of his antislavery literature. He was a fine expository preacher, and had a rare power of adapting himself to hearers lowly or lofty. His native dignity, command of speech, and catholicity of spirit made him a welcome advocate of the great evangelical societies and a noteworthy president of Conference (1872).

G. T. Perks, president of Conference in 1873, like Wiseman, was a missionary secretary, mighty in the Scriptures, and of singularly well-balanced character. Gervase Smith, D.D., was an intimate friend of Dr. Punshon, whom he succeeded in the presidency. In 1874 he was British represent-

ative to the first General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada, and two years later to the Australasian Conference. For twelve years he was a sagacious coworker with Sir Francis Lycett in his metropolitan work.

A distinguished missionary president was William Shaw, the veteran of South Africa, who died in 1872. India and Ceylon have been nobly represented by William Arthur, M.A., and Dr. E. E. Jenkins, who are still spared to their Church, and by John Walton, who was also president of the Heald Training Institution, Graham's Town, for eight years, and of the South African Conferences of 1883–1884. These are a few only of the men of manifold gifts who represent the many-sided Methodism of the last half century. Of others our next chapter must tell.



CHAPTER CXLVIII

The Forward Movement in Education and Philanthropy

THE MASTER THEOLOGIAN.—A GROUP OF PROFESSORS.—AN EMINENT MAN OF SCIENCE.—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—THE YOUNG LIFE OF METHODISM.—PROGRESSIVE LOCAL PREACHERS.—TEMPERANCE REFORM.—THE CHILDREN'S HOMES.

OST of the Church leaders mentioned in the last chapter have passed to their rest; some of those now to be named have almost finished their life-work, and others are likely to mold the Methodism of the twentieth century.

The greatest master of systematic theology British Methodism has produced is William Burt Pope, D.D. His translations of Haupt's St. John and Stier's Words of the Lord Jesus (1852) early placed him in the front rank among students in Britain and America, and his monumental Compendium of Christian Theology was completed in 1879. His Fernley Lecture on The Person of Christ, his Prayers of St. Paul, and his published Sermons have ministered to all that is deepest not only in the theological thought but in the spiritual experience of modern Methodists. He was president of Conference in 1877.

A translator and theologian of note is Professor J. S. Banks.

Dr. M. Randles, president of the Conference in 1896; Dr. H. W. Williams (died 1898), and J. R. Gregory have written monographs. Dr. Rigg's Modern Anglican Theology, dealing specially with the Coleridgean Broad Church theories, and his



TWO WESLEYAN THEOLOGIANS.

REV. WILLIAM BURT POPE, D.D.

REV. WILLIAM ARTHUR. .

Oxford High Anglicanism are likely to maintain a permanent place in literature. Since William Arthur became known to the Church universal as the author of The Tongue of Fire he has written on Theistic Theories and Philosophy, and published his Fernley Lecture on Physical and Moral Law. Among biblical students who live to carry forward Dr. Moulton's work in criticism and exegesis are Professors J. A. Beet, W. T. Davison, G. G. Findlay, R. W. Moss, W. F. Slater, and a group of younger writers, including sons of Dr. Moulton and Dr. Geden. Dr. W. Nicholas, president of

Belfast College, and James Chapman, principal of Southlands, have dealt with present-day questions in their Fernley Lectures, and W. Spiers with Old Testament criticism.

A scientist of national repute is Dr. W. H. Dallinger, a fellow of the Royal Society since 1880. As president of the Royal Microscopical Society, in succession to a long dynasty

of eminent men, he delivered a pathetic elogium on the death of his predecessor, Dr. Carpenter, whose literary work he has developed to almost cyclopedic dimensions. The publication of the results of Dallinger's and Drysdale's investigations into the history of minute life organisms marked an epoch in biological science and exploded Dr. Bastian's theory of spontaneous generation. Huxley and



REV. DR. W. H. DALLINGER, F.R.S.

Tyndall concurred with Dallinger's verdict, that the organisms originated in spores and germs which were "fertilized by a genetic process, like all the higher and more complex forms above them." And Dr. Dallinger sums up, "The conviction to-day of the largest number by far of the most competent biologists is that down to the uttermost verge of organized existence, out to its very edge, and in its lowliest condition, it is yet true that only that which is living can produce that which shall live."

To rare intellectual gifts Dr. Dallinger adds wonderful manipulative and artistic skill, and a power of popular exposition and eloquence of speech in sermon and lecture which keeps him in touch with his fellow-men. For eight years he was governor of Wesley College, Sheffield. He retains his status as a Wesleyan minister, but without pastoral charge. He delivered the Fernley Lecture in 1887 on "The Creator, and What We May Know of the Method of Creation." No more potent voice is raised from the ranks of science on behalf of the supernatural in nature than that of Dr. Dallinger.

It is unnecessary at this stage in history to refute the libel that Methodism is antagonistic to culture. Wesleyan Methodism has sometimes suffered for the mistakes of the early evangelicals of the Establishment, "from whose works passages in depreciation of learning might be quoted in scores," says the Spectator. But that organ of broad and advanced thought justly adds, "John Wesley, be it remembered to his honor, had ever the highest respect for learning, and was always eager to add to his acquirements."

The majority of Wesley's successors have been too busy in evangelizing the world, in civilizing a cannibal Fiji, or saving the rising democracy of Britain to write many learned books, but they have shown that they agree with Mr. J. Fletcher Moulton, Q. C., who, at the unveiling of a bust of his brother, Dr. Moulton, in City Road Chapel, 1899, said: "Growth of education there must be if this kingdom is to keep its place among the nations. Because it is so united and widespread a body Methodism is specially fitted to promote education of a higher kind in England. If Methodism is afraid of the growth of education, it is not worthy of its high mission."

The Wesleyan Conference has not only been energetic in



REV. W. F. SLATER.

REV. JOHN SHAW BANKS.

REV. W. THEOPHILUS DAVISON.

REV. GEORGE G. FINDLAY.



promoting secondary and higher education, it has established 747 day schools, which the statesman Mundella once said "are the best schools in the country." These schools, with 159,396 scholars, are of special importance in rural districts, where Methodists have no alternative to the compulsory attendance of their children at Anglican schools. In 1899 there were 8,000 parishes in England where there were none but Anglican schools, in many cases under the sway of aggressive priests. The Wesleyan training colleges—for masters, at Westminster, and mistresses, at Southlands—have done much to protect young Methodists from the attempt to coerce them into Anglicanism as the condition of entering the teaching profession.

The Conference of 1891 declared that "the primary object of Methodist policy is the establishment of school boards everywhere, acting in districts of sufficient area, and the placing of a Christian unsectarian school within reasonable distance of every family;" but it emphasized the importance of Wesleyan day schools in those localities where it is impossible to establish such school boards. In 1899 Dr. D. J. Waller—secretary for education since 1881, president of Conference in 1895—reported a general forward movement in all educational affairs.

A Sunday School Union was established in 1875, largely as the result of John Clulow's labors, and under the secretary-ships of C. H. Kelly and R. Culley it has done much to improve the literature and methods of the work among the young. In 1875 the British Sunday schools numbered 5,893, with 700,210 scholars; in 1898 there were 7,196 schools and 962,788 scholars. The Wesley Guild was formed in 1896, and three years later reported 1,016 guilds with a membership of 70,295. Guilds have also been formed in India and in Ceylon, and the idea has also taken vigorous root in South

Africa and the West Indies. The Guild is affiliated to the National Home Reading Union and promises much good for the young life of Methodism.

A forward movement among local preachers began in 1894 in the appointment of a connectional committee for guiding their studies and arranging for voluntary examinations. The Local Preachers' Association celebrated its jubilee at Birmingham in 1899. It unites local preachers of all Methodist churches in a benefit society of 7,470 members. Honorary members number 2,577. It provides for necessitous brethren, and its annual meetings have become inspiring spiritual festivals for Conference and preaching. "The local preacher," said the jubilee president, J. Barnsley, "is the man who must uphold the standard of the cross in hundreds of villages cursed by a bastard papacy, with churches in which no Protestant can worship. He must be the leader in the battle for evangelical freedom; he it is who must bring the people face to face with the Gospel of salvation."

Temperance work has advanced since 1870, when the Conference passed its first resolution in favor of a reform in the licensing system. A committee was formed five years later, but a secretary whose whole time could be devoted to the work was not appointed till 1891. In the meantime undenominational societies had grown rapidly, absorbing, as they still do, a large proportion of Methodist abstainers. The general secretary, G. A. Bennetts, B.A., reports 1,564 societies and 4,730 Bands of Hope. The temperance veteran of British Methodism is the beloved Charles Garrett, president in 1882. "I recollect," he says, "when as a lad in a round jacket I went to hear John Cassell. I have the bill at home now—one of the most sacred things I have—announcing that John Cassell, the Manchester carpenter, would address a meeting

on temperance. I went and signed; I returned and told my leader, and met with the same treatment, I dare say, as many others. He said:

"'You don't know what you have been doing."



THREE LEADERS OF MODERN WESLEYAN METHODISM.

Rev. Charles Garrett. T. Bowman Stephenson, D.D., LL.D. Rev. D. J. Waller.

"'Well,' I replied, 'I have only promised never to touch anything that will make people drunk.'

"'That's not it,' he answered; 'it's a Manchester trick to upset the throne. Depend upon it, it's a scheme of those Radicals. You don't know what these men are up to, You had better have nothing to do with it.'

"My experience was the experience of many. I shall never forget when the total abstinence movement was adopted in the Conference and became an integral part of the Methodist organization. When that vote was passed some of us went home and wept like children."

Among the "men of Preston" who were the first public

advocates of total abstinence I. Teare and T. Whittaker were Methodists, as well as T. B. Smithies, James Barlow, and W. Hoyle, the statisti-

DRAWN BY W. B. PRICE.



PRINCESS ALICE ORPHANAGE.

cian of the movement. The children's homes, for destitute and orphan children,

CHILDREN'S HOME, BONNER ROAD, LONDON. founded by Dr. T. B.

Stephenson, represent a glorious advance in organized philanthropy. The work began in 1869 in London, where it still has its headquarters. The Edgeworth branch, near Bolton, Lancashire, provides a unique object-lesson for social and economic reformers; for there, in twentyfive years, a piece of wild moorland has been transformed into a "garden of the Lord" and a colony of homes, mainly by the labor of rescued boys under the direction of the skillful governor, A. W. Mager. There are also branches in Birmingham, Ramsey, Alverstoke, a reformatory school near Gravesend, and an emigration depot in Canada. The Twentieth Century Fund provides for further developments. More than 4,300 children have been rescued, and 1,177 children were resident in the homes in 1898. The ordinary expenditure is £25,000 a year. Dr. Stephenson, who was born in the centenary year, was president of the Conference in 1891.

The now famous phrase, "The Forward Movement," was first used by James Ernest Clapham (died 1897), the Home Mission secretary, during a memorable debate at the London Ministers' Meeting in 1885. He justly protested against the error that the modern advance in evangelistic and social work was "a new departure," and maintained with intense fervor that it was but the onward march along the same track which the Methodist fathers had opened.



CHAPTER CXLIX

Wesley's "Parish" in the Opening Century

THE GREAT TOWN MISSIONS.—ENTERPRISE IN THE PROVINCES.—IRELAND AND WALES.—A FULLY EQUIPPED CHURCH.—HISTORIC CELEBRATIONS.—ECUMENICAL CONFERENCES.—THE OUTLOOK FOR THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

HE great town missions represent the latest effort of Methodism to deal with the problems arising out of the vast growth of urban populations. For thirty vears successful work had been done in East London by Alexander McAulay and others when, in 1875, Charles Garrett commenced the Liverpool mission, which has now one thousand members meeting in class. J. E. Clapham, the Home Mission organizing secretary; H. J. Pope, the Chapel Committee secretary and, later (1893), president of the Conference; and Walford Green, his immediate successor in the Conference chair, were active promoters of an effort, in 1885, to deal on a large scale with the difficulties arising out of migration to the city suburbs of the more wealthy congregations. The Manchester mission was at once commenced under S. F. Collier, and in thirteen years it had twelve centers of work with more than fourteen thousand persons—mostly of the nonchurchgoing class-attending the evening services, and four thousand church members.



A GROUP OF MODERN WESLEYAN LEADERS.

REV. MARK GUY PEARSE. REV. J. ERNEST CLAPHAM. REV. HENRY J. POPE, REV. THOMAS CHAMPNESS. REV. PETER THOMPSON. REV. HUGH PRICE HUGHES REV. JOHN BOND. REV. WILLIAM D. WALTERS. REV. MARSHALL HARTLEY. REV. ALBERT CLAYTON. REV. R. CULLEY.



The London mission began with Peter Thompson as pioneer in the east, Edward Smith in the center, H. P. Hughes, M.A., and Mark Guy Pearse in the west, and J. H. Hopkins in the south. In 1898 the missioners were preaching to twenty thousand souls in halls and chapels, and shepherding seven thousand members. Each branch mission has its special adaptation to the varying types of population. The central (Clerkenwell), now under J. E. Wakerley, gathers a crowd of artisans; a most difficult class to reach, but who, once won, form a solid working church. The dreary miles of unwholesome streets and courts in East London demand the utmost self-sacrifice from the missioners and sisters who live amid the squalid poverty. In West London, behind the palatial houses, are overcrowded dwellings and criminal haunts, while the great business houses employ a host of young people who find many perils but no home life in the city. The forms of social service are therefore manifold, while the spiritual aim is never forgotten, and conversions are as frequent as in the ancient days. Mr. Hughes's service at St. James's Hall provides a popular center for visitors from all parts of the world.

In 1890 J. Scott Lidgett, M.A., was made warden of the Bermondsey settlement, and a year later the Lord Mayor of London laid the foundation stone of the new buildings. This is part of a scheme adopted by Wesleyan members of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and London, and includes educational work in its philanthropic program. It is a modern "Holy Club," facing new social problems, and taking an increasing part in municipal administration and all local enterprises for the good of the people. Several of the London missioners and sisters are guardians of the poor. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Clerkenwell in 1897 on the occasion of a dinner for the poor. The South London

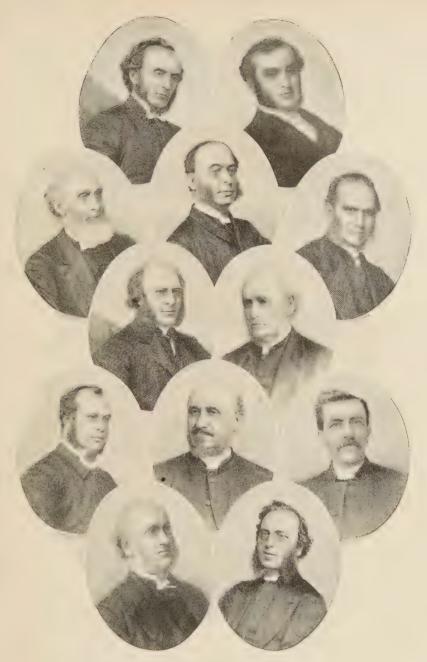
mission gave fifty thousand breakfasts to needy children in the winter of the following year.

A successful seamen's mission, with a chapel near the docks, has done good work for twenty years. Many of the old London circuits, such as Hinde Street, Great Queen Street, Westminster, and Lambeth, maintain vigorous mission work. The Hinde Street Church parlor has provided a social center for young people in West End business houses. The historic City Road circuit has its "North London mission."

A German Methodist mission church has existed in London since 1864, and worships in the Peter Böhler Memorial Chapel, Commercial Road. Anarchists, infidels, and Romanists have been reached by the devoted missionaries. Two Conference presidents, A. McAulay and H. J. Pope, were among the early promoters of this unique work, the latter administering the first sacrament in German. Five German converts have entered the ministry.

The increase of Methodism in London has largely exceeded the increase of population during the last hundred years. The increase of population has been sixfold; from about 900,000 to 5,000,000. The increase in Methodist members has been tenfold; from 3,200 to 34,000. Dr. Rigg justly observes that "this is the more satisfactory, as during the last half century the uprising of many other forms of Christian enterprise throughout the whole kingdom, and not least in London, has tended to diminish the ratio of Methodist increase." Much is due to the Metropolitan Chapel Building Fund, already noticed, of which John Bond has been since 1880 the energetic secretary.

Town missions have rapidly developed in Birmingham, Nottingham, Hull, Leicester, Newcastle, Sunderland, Leeds, Cardiff, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other towns. The "Joy-



A GROUP OF IRISH MINISTERS.

REV. WILLIAM CROOK.

REV. JAMES DONNELLY.

REV. GIBSON McMILLEN.

REV. HEV. HEV. GIBSON McMILLEN.

REV. HEV. WALLACE McMullen.

REV. OLIVER McCutcheon.

REV. WILLIAM NICHOLAS.

REV. WILLIAM GUARD PRICE.

REV. THOMAS A. McKEE.



ful News" lay evangelists, trained and sent out by the Rev. T. Champness, have done successful work in the villages. The connectional evangelists have witnessed thousands of conversions. Twelve "Gospel cars" convéy colporteur preachers, and the Home Mission Fund assists in maintaining four thousand preaching places in needy districts. Never was Methodism more blessedly fulfilling its mission to the masses.

In Ireland, according to the census for the decade 1881-1891, the Methodist Church, the only community which had increased, gained thirteen per cent, and in spite of the declining population the increase is maintained. Educationally Irish Methodism stands in the front rank. Wesley College, Dublin, where the late Dr. Hollingsworth was principal; Belfast College, under Dr. W. Nicholas, and the new McArthur College are of recognized efficiency, and there are representatives in the Senate of the Royal University and the Board of National Education. Our group of portraits represents a few of the Irish leaders since the centenary. The death of Dr. McMullen, in 1899, was as great a loss to Irish home missions as the death of J. E. Clapham, the year before, was to the English work. C. H. Crookshank, M.A., the historian of Irish Methodism, succeeded the veteran Dr. W. Crook in the Legal Hundred.

Belfast mission is under the care of Dr. R. C. Johnson. Other missions flourish at Dublin and Londonderry, and a central Irish mission to the fairs and markets has been crowned with blessing. In 1900, Ireland had 253 ministers and 28,276 members.

In Wales, since Edward Jones (Bathafarn) inaugurated a Welsh-speaking mission (1800), some mighty preachers have enriched both the Welsh and English ministry. Richard Roberts, Conference president in 1885; the late eloquent

John Evans, and the historian, David Young, have brought their Cambrian fire into the English pulpit. An historic event of 1899 was the meeting of the first Welsh Wesleyan Assembly, which it is anticipated will give new unity, hope, and opportunity to the Welsh churches. The native membership is 20,632, with 106 ministers. The Cardiff and Swansea English districts in Wales have 12,833 members, making a total for the principality of 33,465. The Cardiff mission has gathered into church fellowship "American, German, French, colored men of various countries, sailors of all seas, and desperate characters of all kinds."

In Scotland also there is a forward movement. In 1881 W. F. Slater, M.A., prophesied: "If, in Edinburgh, with its three hundred thousand people, where we have now but one minister, another could be sustained for special work, like that done in Liverpool by Mr. Garrett, and by Mr. McAulay in the East End of London, there is little fear but he would soon gather a church. The same thing might be said of Glasgow." The experiment has been made with marvelous success. George Jackson, B.A., preaches to vast congregations in Edinburgh; the large-hearted Scotch clergy and the lord provost encourage the work, and a great central hall is being erected. Glasgow also has its mission. A noteworthy book of 1898 by a Scotch clergyman, D. Butler, M.A., deals with Wesley and Whitefield and the influence of the Oxford Methodists on Scottish religion. The writer says that Wesley and his successors "have been witnesses against a religion of opinion and for a deep spiritual Christianity; they have influenced Scottish religion for over a century by living centers of spiritual light and life," and their work "is broadening and not lessening."

Several memorials, celebrations, and thanksgivings have

given an impetus to modern Methodism. The missionary jubilee of 1864 raised £180,000 for foreign missions. Two

years later British Methodists felt the thrill of the celebration of the centenary of American Methodism. National interest in Weslev's work was revived in 1876 by the unveiling of the Wesley monument in Westminster Abbey, when Dean Stanley described the representation of Wesley's preaching on his father's tomb as "a parable which represented his relation to our own national institutions. He took his stand upon his father's tombon the venerable and ancestral traditions of the country and the Church." Lady Stanley had recently died, and with intense pathos the dean referred to his great bereavement by



THE WESLEY TABLET IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

quoting a verse from Charles Wesley's hymn on "Wrestling Jacob," in which are the lines,

> My company before is gone, And I am left alone with Thee.

The introduction of lay representatives into the Conference without the estrangement of a single minister or the loss of a member was felt to be a matter for devout gratitude. This found practical expression in a Thanksgiving Fund amounting to £297,500. The meetings, extending over two years, were rich in spiritual power. Much of the success of the effort was due to the wisdom and energy of the president, Dr. Rigg. Foreign missions were relieved of debt, colleges and schools were remodeled, the burdens of the Home Mission Fund, the Education Fund, the Sunday School Union, and the Children's Home were removed; the Princess Alice Orphanage at Birmingham was built; a Fund for Necessitous Local Preachers was established, the temperance work was aided, and the whole financial machinery of Methodism was righted and strengthened.

During the last half century Methodist Church principles have been more clearly defined and asserted, until, as we have noted, "the people called Methodists" have learned to use "without bated breath" the term "Church" instead of "connection." This has, in part, been a defensive protest against the narrow assumptions of High Churchmen and some well-meant proposals for the absorption of Methodism into the Establishment. In 1841 Dr. Pusey, in a published letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, accused the Methodists of "heresy" and "antinomianism," and was effectively answered by Thomas Jackson. In 1868, however, letters by clergymen appeared in the newspapers suggesting the amalgamation of the Wesleyan "body" with "the Church" on the condition of the reordination of the Methodist ministers, and Dr. Pusey addressed a letter to the Conference through John Bedford, the ex-president, which became the subject of a cartoon in the London Punch, accompanied by a set of amusing verses. We reproduce the cartoon on page 1450. The verses were as follows:

REJECTED ADDRESSES;

OR, THE OLD DON AND THE YOUNG DISSENTER,

(Respectfully dedicated to Dr. Pusey and the Methodist ministry in Conference assembled.)

- "WHERE are you going, my pretty maid?"
- "I'm going to Conference, sir," she said—
 "Sir," she said—
- "I'm going to Conference, sir," she said.
- "Shall I write you a letter, my pretty maid?"
- "Just as it pleases you, sir," she said—
 "Sir," she said—
- "Just as it pleases you, sir," she said.
- "Shall we make one of it, my pretty maid?"
- "Name your conditions, sir," she said—
 "Sir," she said—
- " Name your conditions, sir," she said.
- " How about Oxford, my pretty maid?"
- "The less on't the better, sir," she said—
 "Sir," she said—
- "The less on't the better, sir," she said.
- "As 'twixt me and Coleridge, my pretty maid ?"
- "Of the two, Mr. Coleridge, sir," she said— "Sir," she said—
- "Of the two, Mr. Coleridge, sir," she said.
- "Then I've nothing to say to you, my pretty maid."
- "Nobody asked you, sir," she said—
 "Sir," she said—
- "Nobody asked you, sir," she said.

LONDON, August 29, 1868.

Twenty years later a committee of Anglican bishops, with the best intentions, suggested a scheme of reunion based on four Articles, referring to the Scriptures, the creeds, the sacraments, and the "historic episcopate." The Archbishop of Canterbury corresponded with the Wesleyan president, Joseph Bush, and his letters were read to the Conference at which Dr. Moulton presided, in 1890. The Conference replied in courteous terms, expressing its deep desire for spiritual unity among all Christian communities and its conviction "that the true unity of the Church of Christ does not necessarily require the corporate union of the several Churches, or their acceptance of any form of polity and government." It was

also "of opinion that the Articles presented as a basis for possible reunion (especially the fourth, which relates to the historic episcopate) do not, in the absence of fuller information and more exact definition, provide a practical ground



REJECTED ADDRESSES. REJECTED ADDRESSES.

Dr. Pusey.—" And, my dear young lady, if I could induce you and your friends to look kindly upon my proposal—"

Miss Methodist.—"But you can't, sir. I don't want to go to church at all; and if I did, I'm sure I wouldn't go with you."

"Dr. Pusey appeals for sympathy to the Wesleyan Conference. His sincerity and earnestness encountered a harsh rebuff."—*Times*.

for the discussion of the subject." As early as 1866 Dr. Rigg affirmed that there is not the remotest possibility of the Wesleyan Methodist Church ever being absorbed in the Church of England.

A melancholy volume might be written on the petty persecutions endured by village Methodists at the hands of the more bigoted clergy—a story of "boycotted" tradesmen, terrorized children, and insulted

mourners in the parish graveyards—but we forbear. The notorious "tombstone" case of 1875, in which the Bishop of Lincoln supported the Owston vicar in his refusal to allow the title "Rev." to appear on the gravestone of a Wesleyan minister's daughter, excited the indignation of

the entire public press of England. The Anglican sacerdotalism has led to a revival of assertive Protestantism in the Methodist Church. F. W. Macdonald told the friendly evangelical clergy of Hull, in 1898, "We are impenitent and in-



REV. WILLIAM L. WATKINSON.

Conference president, 1897.

REV. FREDERIC W. MACDONALD.

Conference president, 1898.

corrigible Protestants;" and on his election to the presidency, the following year, he stated the position of the Methodist pastorate when he said: "Our Church system seems to me to hold in happy balance different elements of polity on whose equilibrium stability depends. The theory and practice of the ministry among us are as far removed from sacerdotalism as from anarchy, and we have no intention of going further in the direction of Rome on the one hand or Plymouth on the other hand. Our laity are neither the slaves nor the taskmasters of the ministers, but fellow-laborers with Christ's servants."

Among contributors to the church literature of Methodism,

besides many already quoted, must be included Professor R. Green, Dr. Lelièvre, the French biographer, and the writers on polity: W. Peirce, Dr. Beauchamp, Dr. Williams, Dr. Waller, J. S. Simon, and C. E. Wansbrough. The inspiring lives of the famous missionaries, W. O. Simpson, of India; James Calvert, of Fiji, and David Hill, of China, whose labors are recorded in the section upon World-Wide Methodism, rouse missionary zeal. The Life of Peter Mackenzie perpetuates the memory of one of the most original and popular preachers and lecturers of the century, a man of audacious and sanctified humor. Of different types are the published sermons of the foremost living preachers - Jenkins, Watkinson, Selby-and the late John Burton and J. Lewis. T. Woolmer, a former governor of Kingswood School, and book steward for many years, has been succeeded at the Book Room by C. H. Kelly. Two newspapers spread tidings of Methodism: the Methodist Times, edited by Hugh Price Hughes, and noted for his pungent and powerful editorials, and the Methodist Recorder, the successor of the stately Watchman, the family record of Church life, edited by Nehemiah Curnock.

Two Ecumenical Conferences have represented the world-wide "parish" of Methodism. The first was held in the mother chapel at City Road, London, in 1881. Four hundred delegates attended, from the seven sections of British and Irish Methodism, and from the United States, Canada, South America, the West Indies, Africa and Australia, from France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden, from India and China, and other mission fields. They represented from twenty-three to twenty-five millions of adherents. Bishop Simpson preached the opening sermon at a sacramental service, and the venerable president of the British Conference,



A GROUP OF PREACHERS AND WRITERS.

REV. FRANCIS J. SHARR. FEV. THEOPHILUS WOOLMER. REV. PETER MACKENZIE.

REV. THOMAS G. SELBY.

REV. RICHARD GREEN.

REV. WILLIAM O. SIMPSON. REV. NEHEMIAH CURNOCK. REV. MATTHEW LELIEVRE.



Dr. Osborn, gave the opening address. The Methodist Lord Mayor of London, Sir William McArthur, welcomed the delegates at a stately reception in the Mansion House. The re-

ports of the papers and discussions form a valuable addition to Pan-Methodist literature.

A notable event at this Ecumenical Conference was the arrival of a telegraphic report of the death of General Garfield, the President of the United States. The American delegates sent a message of condolence to "the noble, faithful wife, Mrs. Garfield, who has given to the world a higher suggestion of Christian strength and wifely de-



engraved by H. C. Balding from a photograph.

REV. GEORGE OSBORN, D.D.

President of the Conference, 1863.

votion." The Conference closed with an address from Bishop Simpson, in which he said that "both nations had stood around the dying bed of the President of the United States, their tears had mingled, their prayers had been blended; . . . sympathy in sorrow had perfected their friendship, strengthened their bonds, and now they were going back . . . telling the people everywhere that the heart of England was in sympathy with the heart of America. . . . Methodism was one of the bonds of the brotherhood of nations. . . . They had been a congress upon almost everything that was calculated to

raise humanity higher and to broaden the thoughts and sympathies of men."

The celebration of the centenary of Wesley's death, at City Road Chapel, 1891, brought together representatives of all



THE WESLEYAN CENTENARY STATUE, CITY ROAD, LONDON.
Erected March 2, 1891.

the evangelical churches in England. A statue of Wesley was unveiled, and Dr. F. W. Farrar, then canon of Westminster, gave an address in which he feelingly indorsed the estimate of one who said that almost everything in the religious history of modern days was foreshadowed by John Wesley. "Wesley was the first man who revived the spirit of religion among the masses of the people, and who roused the slumbering Church.

His was the voice that first offered the great masses of the people hope for the despairing and welcome to the outcast;

and his work is continued under changed forms, not only in the founding of the great Wesleyan community, but also in the evangelical movement in the Church of England itself."

The second Ecumenical Conference was held in 1891 at Washington. The account of its proceedings belongs to the history of American Methodism.

The third Ecumenical Conference was held in London in September, 1901. The principal sessions were held, as before, in Wesley's Chapel, in City Road, and the spiritual sons of Wesley gathered about the old hearthstone from England, Europe, America, Africa, Asia, and Australia.

Wesleyan Methodism of Great Britain and Ireland begins the new century with 2,457 ministers, 20,554 lay preachers, 500,337 members and probationers, 7,652 Sunday schools, with 1,126,134 officers, teachers, and pupils. The other Methodist sects—Methodist New Connection, Independen, Methodist Churches, Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians, Wesleyan Reform Union, and United Methodist Free Churches—would add to these figures 2,036 ministers, 23,314 lay preachers, 379,541 members and probationers, 7,040 Sunday schools, with about one million officers, teachers, and pupils on the roll. Methodism in the British Isles is still growing more rapidly than the population.

The nineteenth century closed with another Methodist eucharist, the Twentieth Century Fund, which successfully raised one million guineas from one million British Methodists for the development of the work of the Church in the new century. We may fittingly close this volume with the wise words of the scholar president, Dr. Moulton, uttered at the celebration of the centenary of Wesley's death: "It would be a task of deepest interest and lasting importance to inquire how John Wesley's life, from first to last, stood related to the life

of the eighteenth century. We have a harder task before us
-a problem not to be solved in this brief hour, but to be
worked out by us all; for, even if it be in spite of ourselves,



REV. THOMAS ALLEN.
Conference president, 1900.

we must be makers of history: How may the lessons of John Wesley's life be adapted to the conditions of the age in which we live? It is idle to exclaim that they may be adopted without change; that we may imitate as a faithful copyist

reproduces the manuscript before him. We live in an age whose novel characteristics have hardly yet lost their power to surprise.

"We are men of action, women of action. The future waits for us who are the living Methodists of to-day—depends upon us, must be molded by us. In so far as we apprehend and make our own the living influences around us and within us shall we be a source of living power for the years that are not yet born."

END OF VOLUME III.



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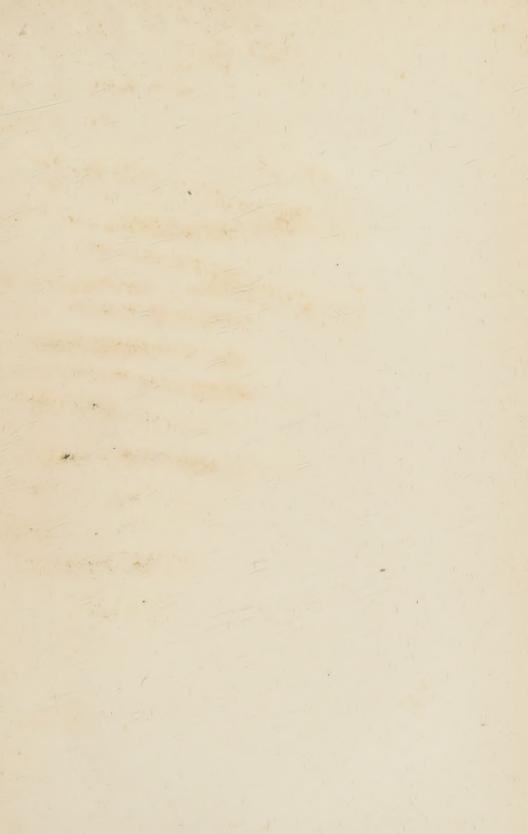
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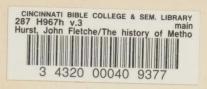




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